

ART IN AMERICA
AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY

VOLUME FIVE

EDITED BY
FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN



NEW YORK
SEVENTEEN-NINETY BROADWAY
MCMXVII

Fine Arts

N
1
A78
v.5

Copyright, 1916, 1917,
by
FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN



GIOVANNI BELLINI : MADONNA
COLLECTION OF MR. PHILIP LEHMAN, NEW YORK

ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME V NUMBER I · DECEMBER MCMXVI

A MADONNA BY GIOVANNI BELLINI RECENTLY
ACQUIRED BY MR. PHILIP LEHMAN · BY BERNARD
BERENSON

MR. LEHMAN'S Madonna (Frontispiece) was discovered by Count Umberto Gnoli in Prince Potenziani's Villa at Rieti, and published in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for November, 1911.¹ The reproduction in black and white left no doubt that it was one of the most incisive, most personal, and most appealing of Bellini's earlier achievements. The sight of the original was dazzling. It has a vivacity and a wealth of colour that were a revelation. A student of Bellini, expecting his rather subdued scheme of pearly greys and blues that is seldom disturbed by intrusions of brighter tints, is almost taken aback by the crash of the strong coral reds, the fresh juicy greens, the shining whites. But nevertheless the subtler and more delicate harmonies hold their own, and I can scarcely recall a note of blue more telling yet more exquisite than the one on the sash of the Child. For the radiance of the colours is equalled by their coolness and transparency.

Far more than the design, does the colour scheme betray the influence of Mantegna. We are reminded of him spontaneously and irresistibly, but with this difference, that while even in his best preserved works he is relatively opaque and heavy, not to say murky and even hot, here Bellini is as clear, as light, and as fresh as he always tends to be in his first period.

And yet the design is as Mantegnesque as Bellini ever made, for if no one element in the figure is so obviously taken over as the Child in the Johnson picture, the festoon is lifted, so to speak, bodily from Mantegna. We are reminded not only in that respect of his

¹ The reappearance of this work was more of a delight than a surprise, for I had long been acquainted with a crude but nearly contemporary copy. It is in the collection of the Bavarian Minister at Vienna, Baron Tucher. We reproduce the original from a new photograph.

André "Madonna"¹ and of two others known only in almost contemporary copies at Berlin and in the former Butler Collection, but in every other way as well. It is indeed likely that the entire pattern of our Madonna was given by one of Mantegna's now lost, one in the style of his most beautiful painting known to us, the Berlin "Presentation of the Holy Child." That, by the way, is a masterpiece which must have profoundly impressed Giovanni Bellini, for it would seem as if he made a version of it—or at least had it made under his own eye—which is still to be seen.²

All in all, Mr. Lehman's panel is Bellini's most Mantegnesque work. It is the more singular that he has taken so little of Mantegna's structure, for as a torso this Madonna's would scarcely compare with a Greek herma. We should liken it rather to something so rudimentary as the wooden idols, the *xoana* of the more primitive Greeks. It has scarcely more articulation or projections than a board, and indeed is so silhouetted as to suggest a flat back. Yet the painting is to my mind none the worse, for manifestly the artist was absorbed in his colour and his feeling, both of which he renders with supreme success. These faults, however, are among the chief reasons why I place it slightly earlier than the kindred Johnson "Madonna" already so much more supple and free, as if its author had suddenly shaken off his limitations.

The resemblances between these two works are too obvious to require pointing out, and in consequence we are dispensed from the laborious task of dating Mr. Lehman's. But, even if Mr. Johnson's "Madonna" were unknown, we should have had no difficulty in coming to the same conclusion with regard to its chronology. Clearly an early effort, it yet could not have been painted much, if at all, before 1470, and for the following reasons. In general character of drawing, design, and form it is close to the "*Pietà*" of the Doge's Palace, painted as we know in 1472. The Virgin's right hand anticipated that of the earlier Morelli "Madonna" at Bergamo, and of the Moses in the Naples "Transfiguration," works dating from toward 1480. Finally, there is a bit of outside evidence. The Child's sash, in the precise arrangements that we find here with its vertical strip of embroidery, occurs in the André Mantegna as well as in a Mantegnesque "Madonna" at Treviso. Now I had on internal evidence

¹ Reproduced as Fig. 381 in Venturi's "Storia," Vol. VII, part 3.

² Querini-Stampalia Palace, Venice. The version is so remarkable that I can scarcely blame Morelli for having believed that it was an original. (Photo. Alinari 13621).

placed the André picture after its author's Uffizi Triptych, and well on the way toward a later group represented by the Mond "Holy Family." The exact year almost is given us by the Treto "Madonna" which could not have been done before 1469, and probably was painted very soon after.¹ But the Treto "Madonna" was inspired by some work like the André one, which must therefore already have existed in 1469 yet not before, I believe, owing to the way it anticipates later works. Mr. Lehman's Bellini which has such close affinities with this painting would certainly not have been painted earlier.

SOME ORIENTAL BAS-RELIEFS · BY HAMILTON BELL

IN the Boston Museum of Fine Arts are two bas-reliefs, Nos. 12,588 and 12,589, labeled "Tomb Sculpture. The reliefs represent the travels of a high official. Chinese T'ang, 8th Century" (Figs. 1 and 2).

In the Louvre in Paris is a companion stone (Fig. 3) which M. Gaston Migeon, Conservateur of the Far Eastern Department of that museum, provisionally entitles "*une dalle funéraire chinoise du VII^e siècle.*"

Despite the fact that the relief in the Louvre seems rather better in execution than the others, I think that there can be little risk in assuming for all three a similar provenance; this, I was informed by the Paris dealer who had sold them all, to have been Sing sian sian² on the Yellow River. No real importance attaches to such a statement, which is probably merely that of the Chinese dealer from whom they were acquired. This vagueness of dealers on these important points continues a grave stumbling-block in the path of the student. The sizes of the stones would seem to imply that they were portions of the same monument, the two Boston stones being $44\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $45\frac{3}{8}$ inches long and $25\frac{5}{8}$ inches and $25\frac{3}{4}$ inches high respectively; that in the Louvre is $41\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $25\frac{3}{4}$ inches high. What this monument may have been must be a matter of conjecture. M. Migeon, like the

¹ Bollettino d'Arte, 1909, p. 212, where it is reproduced.

² Is this possibly Sing Hsien in Shansi, about thirty miles east of the Yellow River?

Boston authorities, is disposed to regard them as part of the lining of a tomb, doubtless arguing by analogy from the well-known Han sculptures of a similar purpose.

The subjects are less difficult to decipher. In each of the three the central panel shows us an Oriental potentate on horseback beneath an umbrella of state attended by a retinue with music and banners. In the side panels of all, the same prince (in all probability) is seated, either under vine arbors or in elaborately decked pavilions, feasting. It should be noticed that in every instance, whether the banquet is in the open air or beneath a roof, it takes place within an enclosure (of a palace presumably) at the entrance to which servants and horses await the departure of their lord. As I shall endeavor to demonstrate, the art of these sculptures is so composite that it is well-nigh impossible to decide on the nationality of the sculptor, but I think it is undeniable that the principal personage and his train are not Chinese. On the other hand, the figures of his hosts, if we may assume them to be so, and to some extent the style of the buildings in which he reposes, betray certain Chinese characteristics. It is interesting to observe that whether the banquet seems to be offered by the more Chinese looking of the personages to those of more Western aspect, or vice versa, the vessels in which it is served are the same and recall those which we note as being of T'ang style.

So, too, with the musical instruments; be the players Chinese or Westerners in appearance, the instruments are the same. As we shall see, all of these appear in the arts of Asia from Persia to China, some of them even surviving in the Far East to the present day.

Chinese intercourse with India is of great antiquity, almost certainly antedating the Christian era.

Western Asia was known to the Chinese from at least as early as the famous expedition of Chang K'ien under the Han Emperor Wu-ti in the second century—B.C. 138 to 126 B.C.

The Wei Shu (506-572 A.D.) gives an account of Po-ssi, Persia, in which allusion is made to an embassy to Han of the King of Po-ssi in the period of Shou Kui (516-528 A.D.) after which time tribute is stated to have been sent annually.

On the fall of the Sassanian Dynasty in 641 A.D. the last monarch, Yesdijird III, fled to Merv, whence he appealed for help

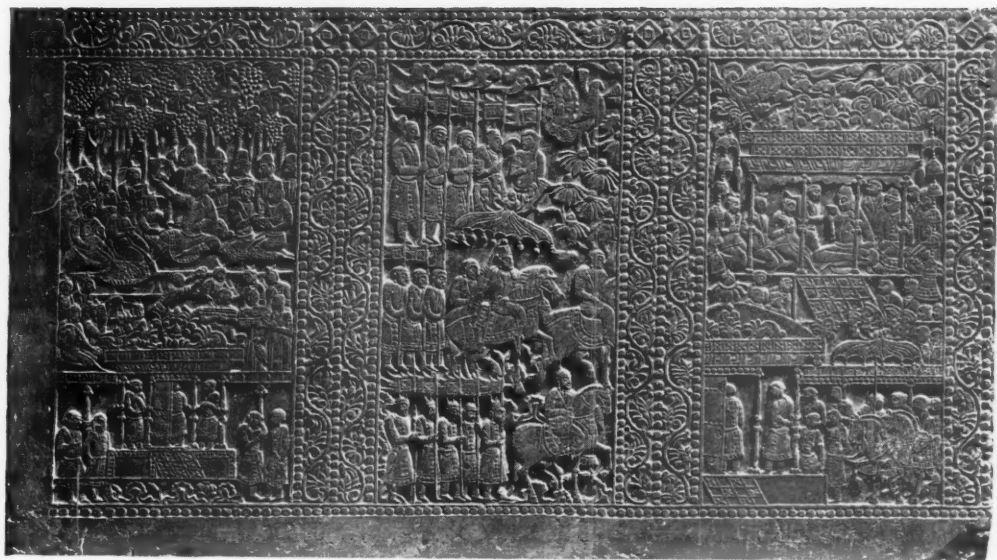
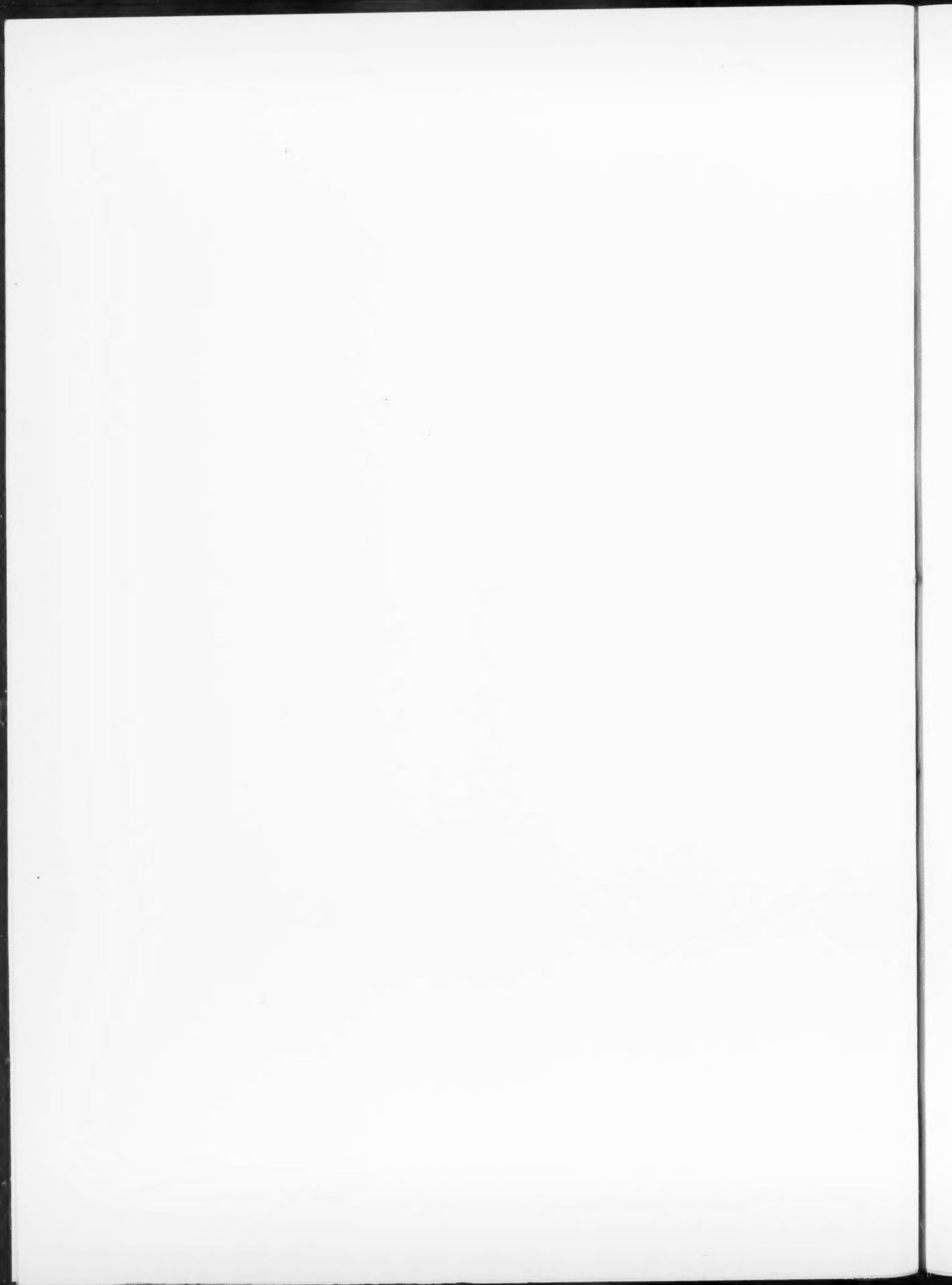


Fig. 1. ORIENTAL BAS-RELIEF.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts.



Fig. 2. ORIENTAL BAS-RELIEF.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts.



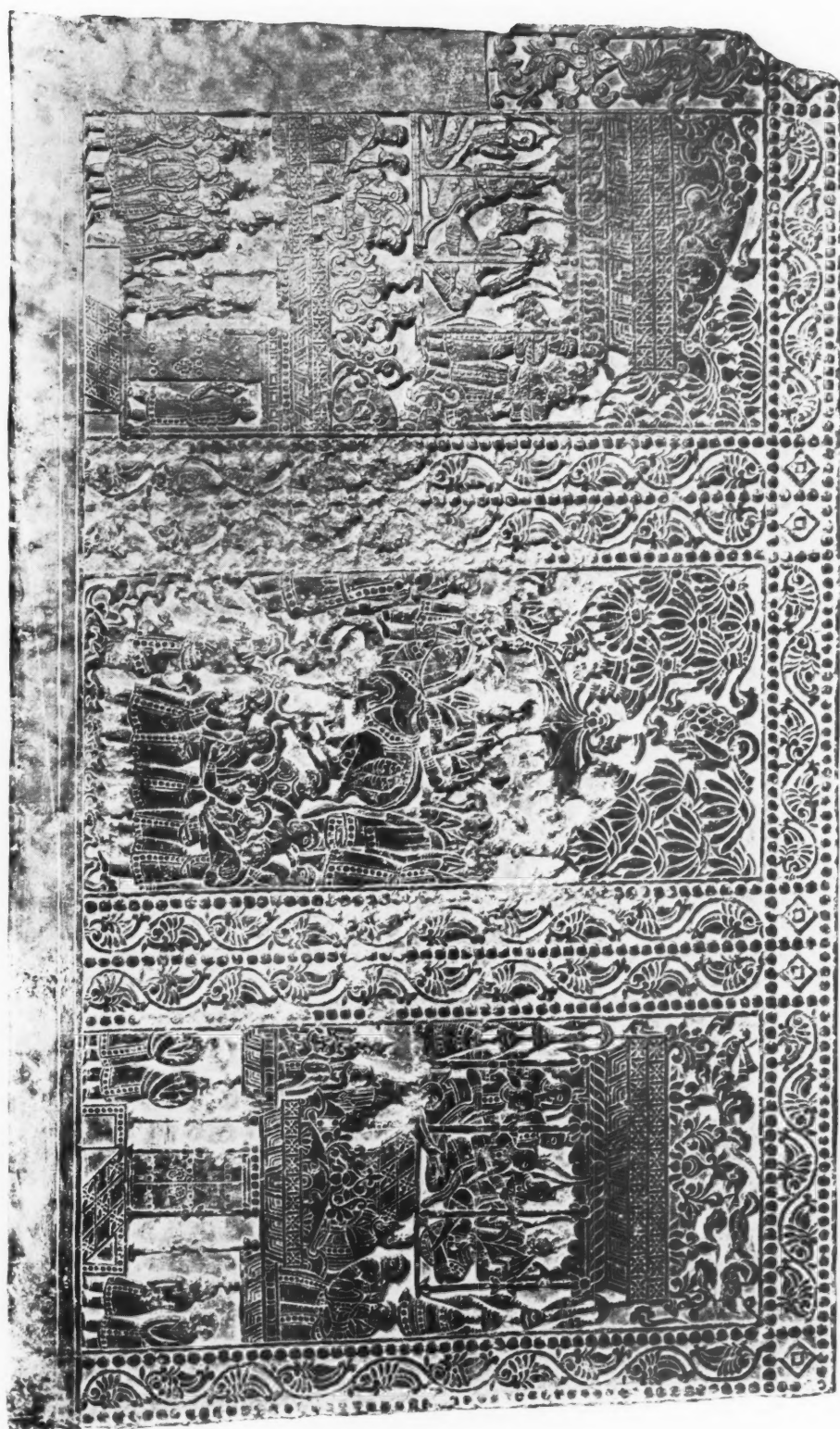


Fig. 3. ORIENTAL BAS-RELIEF
The Louvre, Paris.



to the Chinese Emperor, and tradition has it that his heir to the throne took refuge at the Chinese court. The influence of the art which takes its name from that monarchy is traceable in the arts of the Far East for many centuries after.

It would seem from internal evidence scarcely probable that these reliefs are of so early a date; but not impossible that some such embassy may be commemorated in them.

In the Museum of East Asiatic Art in Cologne are two other stones (Figs. 4 and 5) which have many details in common with these at Boston and Paris, together with others which forbid us to connect them. Some of these differences, primarily those of size, are so great as to make it impossible to believe that they are parts of the same work, or even by the same hand as the three we are considering, while suggesting a more Chinese origin than we can find warrant to ascribe to the three; the figures on these Cologne stones, however, are all decidedly Central Asian and not Chinese in character and costume.

Let us consider these influences, *seriatim*.

INDIAN. Apart from what M. Migeon calls "*quelque chose de l'imagination et de la langue de l'Inde*," there are one or two decidedly Indian influences to be traced in these reliefs, although the more conspicuous of these may have their origin in Chinese motives themselves derived from Indian.

The treatment of the conventional foliage in the borders is very Indian and the forms of the pavilion roofs, together with the ornaments which crest them, suggest an Indian origin; as do very similar ornamental features in the art of Wei and the immediately succeeding Chinese dynasties.

A closer connection with India might perhaps be established, could we link these stones with a splendid altar frontal of marble recently in M. Vignier's hands in Paris and now on its way to this country. This, though far more masterly in treatment than any work in the Boston and Louvre reliefs, yet to everyone who has seen both irresistibly suggests similar influences, if not an absolute affiliation. It is surmounted by a frieze of musicians seated in circles of ornament. I seem to find the original impulse of this frieze in one surmounting a gateway screen in the temple of Sahas-kot, Nagda, near Oudeypore, traditionally of the VIIIth century A.D. but probably dating from the Xth. It is in the style of the

better known temple of Vimalasaha at Mount Abu, which was built about 1030 A.D.¹

The necking of a column at Ajanta² is adorned with somewhat similar figures seated in circles, and much the same arrangement, but in ovals here, is to be found at Sarnath³ and at Kichang, Singbhum district.⁴ All these are probably of about the Vth century. The musicians in the circles of the altar frontal, in type and treatment of the heads, costume, mannerism of gesture, as of pointed toes, etc., are remarkably like those in the stones before us.

A Bacchic carouse, under naturalistic vines, of Gandharan workmanship, on an unnumbered relief in the Lahore Museum,⁵ may or may not have some connection with the feasters in these stones.

Dr. Fischer was strongly of opinion that the two armed attendants carved on the front ends of the stones in his museum at Cologne were Rajputs and that the curious crescent-shaped objects beneath their chins were the characteristic Rajput whiskers. To this I object that these are never worn without a fiercely curling mustache, of which these figures are manifestly devoid. I incline to believe that they represent a mouth-covering, such as is worn by many desert-dwelling people to keep the fine sand out of the breathing apparatus. Such a device is found in Greek representations of Persians and Scythians, and later, on at least two Sassanian bowls, one of which, in the British Museum, is ascribed to the Vth century A.D. The other is in the Hermitage. For some unknown reason, unless it be for purposes of disguise, the same custom of enveloping the lower part of the face in a cloth was adopted by the warrior priests of Hieisan, in Kamakura times, in Japan, and is frequently represented in the makemono of that era.

CHINESE. The Chinese features are, primarily architectural, the ornamental sloping causeways leading, instead of steps, to the platforms on which the pavilions stand; these platforms themselves and the doors are all of types familiar to the student of Chinese buildings almost from Han times. The flat domes recall the roof of a house in a painted screen at Toji in Kyoto, which,

¹ Gustave le Bon, *Monuments de l'Inde*.

² Havell, *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, plate LII.

³ Photo 308 of 1907-8, Dir. Genl's office. *Annual 1907-8*, pl. XX and J. R. A. S. 1908, p. 1094, pl. II. *Catalogue of Sarnath Museum*. Vogel & Ram Sehni, 1914.

⁴ Burgess, *Ancient Monuments of India*, Part II, pl. 295.

⁵ A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddique*.

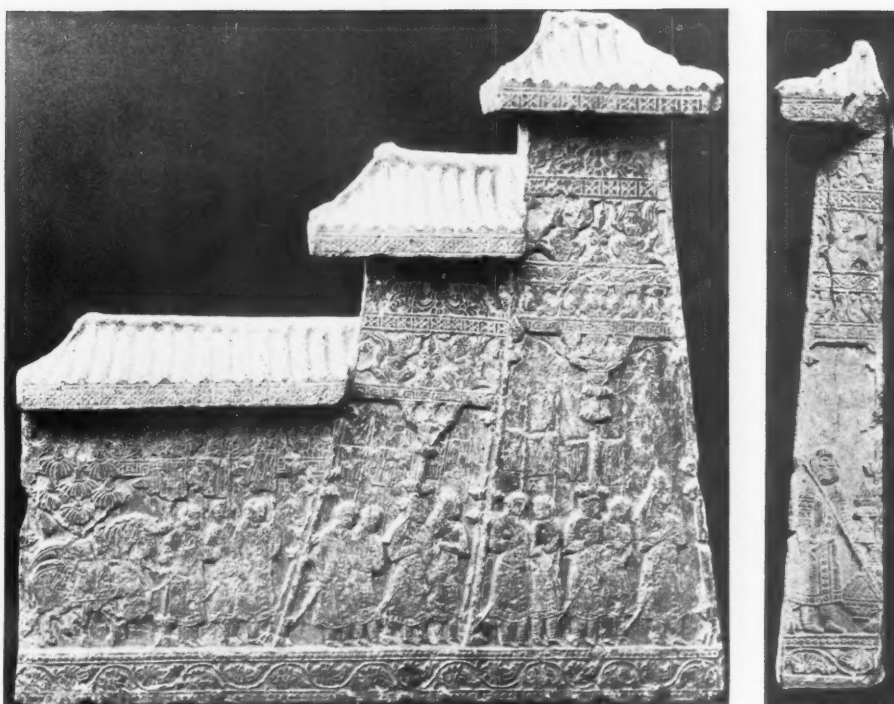


Fig. 4. ORIENTAL BAS-RELIEF.
Museum of East Asiatic Art, Cologne.

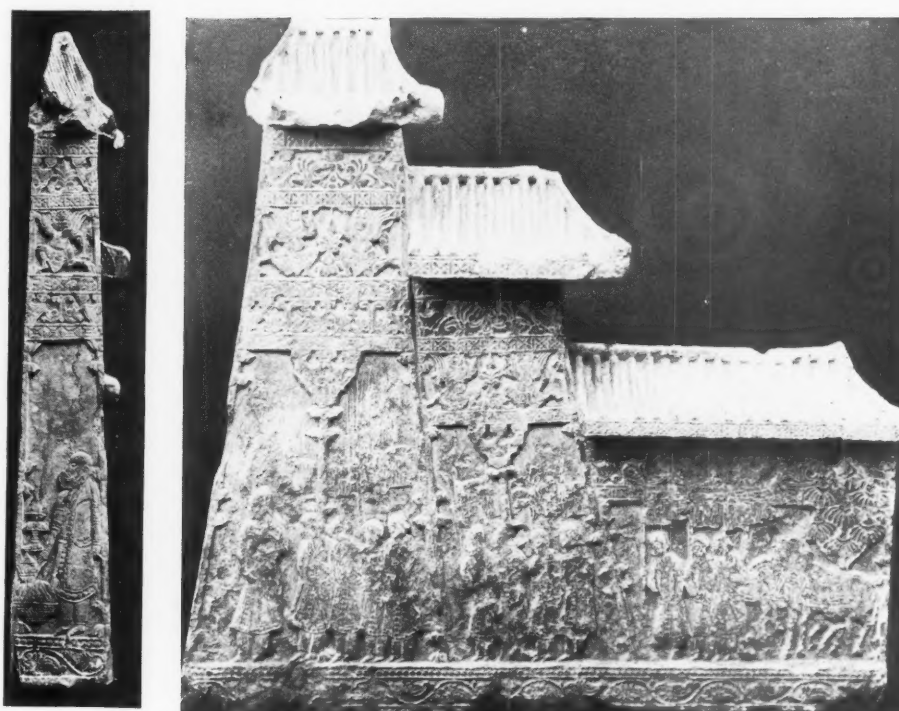


Fig. 5. ORIENTAL BAS-RELIEF.
Museum of East Asiatic Art, Cologne.

if not Chinese of T'ang, is a contemporary Japanese copy. The coffered ceilings have been found carved in stone in the roofs of Wei cave temples at Kung Hsien in Honan and are to be seen in the ceilings of the Suiko shrines and the canopies over the altar of the Kondo of Horiuji. The slender columns which carry the roofs recall those at the entrance of cave V at Lung men.¹ The curtains between them rolled up to the cornice and tied there with bands are to be found to-day on every Japanese temple, and in Chinese and Japanese art of early date. The elaborate tasseled pendants hanging from the eaves of two of the pavilions are to be found in sculptures of the Sui dynasty and even earlier, A.D. 535.² The trees, with their remarkable arrangement of leaves and fruit, are likewise a characteristic of Chinese art of these early days.³ The "fungus-shaped" clouds which fill every available vacant space are too Chinese to require mention.

The dishes in which the banquets are served are exactly like some of T'ang date in Shōsōin at Nara and are to be found in profusion in the Mandara paintings from Turkestan and in the contemporaneous Fujiwara art of Japan.

The lute or biwa, with crescent-shaped sound-holes, played with a plectrum, is of common occurrence in these arts, and originals of the period exist in Shōsōin.

The double-ended drum, shaped somewhat like an hour-glass, is also Chinese.

In each of these stones are groups of personages whose costume seems noticeably Chinese. The curious little caps perched on the tops of their heads, the heads being in some instances clean-shaven, appear in reliefs as early as Northern Wei times.⁴ Some of the wearers of these kneel with their feet under them, and all wear long-skirted gowns with little Chinese jackets and flowing sashes tied in front. The saddle cloths and saddles are Chinese in style; to give but one instance, see the famous horses of the Emperor T'ai tsong, who died in 649 A.D.⁵

The ornament which partially surrounds and separates the panels, while it has, as has been noted, a marked Indian suggestion,

¹ Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, pl. 360.

² Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, pl. 421.

³ The Tuan Fang altar, Sui 581-617 A. D. Paintings in T'ang style. Stein Coll., British Museum.

⁴ Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, pl. 618.

⁵ Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, pl. 443.

yet in detail shows affinities with many Chinese examples. These may be found on mirrors of the VI Dynasties and T'ang periods, on steles dated 734 and 581 A.D. lent to the Exhibition of Buddhist Art at the Musée Cernuschi in 1912 and in another of 663 A.D. at Sianfu in Shensi, illustrated by M. Chavannes.¹

The banners are paralleled in the makemono called Ingyo sutra ascribed to Tempyo times but Chinese in style, and now deposited in the Kyoto and Nara Museums,² and are found in Sung and Yuan paintings.

CENTRAL ASIAN. Many features of these sculptures present us with marked resemblances to those of the Central Asian arts which the recent researches of European archæologists have disclosed to us. Many of these are also to be found in early Chinese art and have been alluded to under that heading. Of those, which in the present state of our knowledge may be called purely Central Asian, none are more striking than the costumes of the greater number of the more important personages in the reliefs. Most of these might have stepped from the painting found in Turkistan by Messrs. Pelliot, Grunwedel and Von le Coq.³ They wear the same long-skirted coats with ornamental borders and lapels thrown back, the same loose trousers tucked into high soft boots with pointed toes, or tight trousers to the ankles, as the figures Von le Coq calls Uigur chiefs.

They sit, too, in the same cross-legged fashion and point their toes in the same apparently affected manner. The banners, with their fantastically flittered tails and borders, are to be found in the paintings of the Stein Collection in the British Museum and in a fresco at Tuan huang of C. 700 A.D. photographed by Pelliot. The Chinese trees above mentioned are found in these paintings too.

The saddles and housings of some of the horses, together with the Sassanian tassels to be described hereafter, are found in a Jataka painting in the Stein Collection and in one given by Grunwedel of a Chinese warrior on horseback with Chinese attendants.⁴ The

¹ Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, pl. 760.

² Kokka, reproductions of portions of these rolls.

³ A. Grunwedel, *Alt-Buddische Kulturstätten in Chinesische Turkestan*, Figs. 52, 53, 116 etc. 619.—A. Von le Coq, Chotscho.—Pelliot, photographs of paintings at Kyzyl-Sairam.

⁴ Paintings found by Stein at Dandan Uiliq, probably ante 787 A.D.—Grunwedel, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 513.

ornamental border also recurs in Figure 424, No. 390 C, of the same book.

The musical instruments recorded above, together with the Chinese Sho, or reed mouth-organ, occur frequently in this art, as they do in all art from Japan to Eastern Russia.

WESTERN ASIATIC. And this brings us to the last influence which these puzzling sculptures betray, that of Western Asia and chiefly that of the Persians.

The Assyrian harps, with which we first become familiar in the bas-reliefs from Kouyunjik in the British Museum, are to be found not only in the subsequent arts of the Nearer East,¹ but we know were in common use in China at least as early as T'ang. Fragments of one of this period are in Shōsōin at Nara. It is held and played in all these later instances precisely as in the Ninivite sculptures.

The fluttering scarves which are prominent on the tops of the umbrellas carried over the principal personages, in all three of the reliefs, and also adorn the necks of the peacocks and other birds, are salient and familiar features of the art of the Sassanid dynasty 226-653 A.D. and appear elsewhere in Central Asian art.² Another Sassanian suggestion is to be found in the haloes worn by some of these birds.

The pine-cone shaped tassels on the bridles and caparisons of the horses are surely derived from this art, wherein they are of common occurrence.

The position of the feet of the riders, toes pointing vertically downward, is equally familiar in Sassanian work. A curious parallel between the coat of the principal figure in the center panel of the Louvre relief and that of a rider on one of the Sassanian rock sculptures at Tagh-i-Boston is worthy of note.³

The Rhyton, which one of the feasters in Figure 1 raises aloft, has a very Western look, but seems to me to be more like those from Scythian tombs in Southern Russia than the more familiar original Greek forms.⁴

¹ Sassanian silver jug found in the vicinity of Perm, now in the Musée de Lyon, together with hour-glass drum and Chinese Sho, or mouth-organ. Wood carving: Von le Coq Coll. Mus. für Völkerkunde, Berlin. XVth cent. Persian miniatures.

² Grunwedel, *op. cit.*, Figs. 61, 66, 68, 172, and collections in Museum, Petrograd University.

³ Cast in the Louvre. F. Sarre and E. Hertzfeld: *Iranische Felsreliefs*.

⁴ Cf. Rhyton from Kul oba, S. Reinach: *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien*.

The tall caps of the chief figures and many of their attendants are strikingly reminiscent of those common among the Persians and other Western Asiatic people of the present day. These caps are noticeable in the paintings of the Von le Coq Collection.

The shape of the umbrella is that to be found in some variety on Greek and Greco-Italian vases, mirrors, etc., and may have been used in the Greek Orient.

In the basement of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin is a curious little alabaster relief labeled *Südarabische Alterthum*, about which I could obtain no further information nor was a photograph of it to be procured. It is much weather-worn, but a sketch I made will serve to suggest the similarity of the type of head and its treatment to many of the figures in these bas-reliefs.

It has been suggested that all five of these stone sculptures may be fraudulent—Japanese. While offering no opinion on such a delicate point, I venture to believe that the foregoing notes will tend to show that it is at least improbable that the type of sculptor likely to be employed in such a fraud should possess the requisite knowledge of so many arts as to mix them in such puzzling proportions, and yet, so far as I can judge, commit no anachronisms in the introduction of unexpected motives, accessories, etc.

One further point remains to be considered, that of the technical processes revealed in these sculptures. It must be admitted that these do not correspond exactly with any of the unquestioned Chinese bas-reliefs with which I am acquainted.

The Cologne stones have a more Chinese look than the others. Their roofs strongly suggest the so-called "piliers" of T'ai-che, Wou leang Ts'eu, and others,¹ recorded by M. Chavannes, and others which I have seen of Han pottery, although these are all of earlier date than the stones can possibly be. Then, too, the triple brackets above the lotus-capped pillars are familiar both in Chinese architecture and in its Japanese derivative. On the other hand, as has been said, the principal personage in all the reliefs is plainly not a Chinese. It may be that we are face to face with another link between the East and the West from that wonderland whence, recently alone, has come so much light on our studies of Oriental art—the true Middle Kingdom of Asia—Chinese Turkestan.

¹ Chavannes, *Mission archéologique*, Part I.

A MEDIEVAL IVORY CASKET · BY ROGER SHERMAN
LOOMIS

AMONG the numerous art objects in the collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan is an interesting group of ivories representative of the work of a school of French craftsmen who seem to have made a specialty of toilet articles adorned with secular subjects. This school seems to have originated near the opening of the fourteenth century, and to have produced in considerable quantities from standard models the combs, mirror cases, writing tablets, and caskets, examples of which are to be seen in almost every European museum. The Morgan Collection contains three caskets and two detached panels from caskets. Two of the caskets are adorned with scenes from the *Chatelaine de Vergi*. Since anyone with a copy of this charming tale of secret love and tragic death, as it is issued in the King's Classics, can easily identify the scenes for himself, I need say no more concerning them than that four similar caskets are in existence,¹ and that an Italian version of the story is painted on the walls of a bedchamber at the Palazzo Davanzati, Florence.²

The third of Mr. Morgan's caskets does not, like these or like the Perceval casket at the Louvre or the Tristram casket at the Hermitage Museum, Petrograd, follow a single narrative but affords illustrations of several different stories. Five other caskets of the same type, besides several plaques from such caskets, are known to me.³ It was, then, a model at the atelier of the school which standardized this combination of motifs: it was not the product of one carver's fancy. The identification of these scenes has in the course of a hundred and fifty years been shaping itself with some precision. In 1890 Johann von Antoniewicz published a scholarly study of a casket of this type at Cracow, in which, though obliged to leave two scenes still undetermined, he identified the rest with certainty.⁴ His work has been the basis of all

¹ At the British Museum, the Louvre, the Imperial Museum, Vienna, and the Museo Archeologico, Milan.

² *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, per. IV, vol. VI, p. 231.

³ Dalton in his *Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era* gives on pp. 125 f. an excellent bibliography; it may be supplemented by the following: J. B. Waring, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Sculpture, pl. 4; and *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, 1911, p. 398 f.

⁴ *Romanische Forschungen*, V, p. 241.

subsequent descriptions of caskets of this group. Since his article is easily accessible, it seems scarcely necessary to rehearse here his study of the literary sources of the scenes. Since, moreover, the Morgan casket in years past has been reproduced in the *Collection Spitzer*, I, pl. 21, and in the *Rivista d'Italia*, 1904, I, p. 600 ff., neither does it seem necessary to reproduce all the sides of the casket. The two detached plaques from similar caskets, however, which have not been reproduced before to my knowledge, are given here as Figures 1 and 2. The subject of Figure 1 is a tournament, the side panels being filled with pairs of lovers. Figure 2, which corresponds to the front side of the Cracow casket, represents in the right-hand panels the Death of Pyramus and Thisbe.

It has not, I think, been pointed out that these caskets seem to have exercised not a little influence upon the enamellers of the fourteenth century in the choice of secular motifs. Whether they affected the treatment also of these motifs we cannot tell, since through a strange mishap none of these enamels to which I refer has survived to our time. We only know of the existence of such enamels through the remarkably detailed inventory made for Louis, Duke of Anjou, in 1364 and 1365.¹ Here we find a number of the scenes popularized by these caskets described as adorning vessels of gold and silver. The Siege of the Castle of Love, which is carved on the lid of every casket of this group, was worked out most elaborately in metal in a fountain for table service described in the inventory.² The Humiliation of Aristotle furnished the design for an aquamanile, or water vessel³; there were some curious modifications in the treatment, however, which indicate a relationship to an ivory figured by Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. III, pl. 194. The meeting of Tristram and Isolt which Mark observes from an overhanging tree is mentioned several times in the inventory.⁴ In the case of a magnificent silver-gilt salière the stem represented the trunk of the tree; in the branches appeared the figure of Mark; below were the lovers, "tout ouvrée de taille très déliement"; and in the base a piece of crystal was set to represent the fountain, and within it appeared

¹ M. de Laborde, *Notice des Émaux*, II. See also *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, L, p. 168.

² M. de Laborde, *op. cit.*, II, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 59, 62, 90.

the head of King Mark. In a goblet of silver gilt this scene appeared in the enameling of the bowl, while the hunting of the unicorn, which is always associated with it on the caskets, appeared in the enameling of the cover. Another of the scenes which is carved on these caskets is found on three objects described in the same inventory. Since this scene and the one adjoining it on the casket have not been identified before, the side which contains them both is reproduced in Figure 3, and I shall venture an interpretation.

On the left we have a knight on his destrier piercing with a lance the mouth of a wodehouse, or wild man of the woods. In the latter's grasp is a woman, holding her hands up in supplication to the knight. This subject, as I have noted already, appears on three objects described in the inventory of Louis, Duke of Anjou, being enameled on two cups and a basin.¹ One of these descriptions reads: "At the bottom of the goblet is an enamel of blue, and in the said enamel is a man on horseback, who issues from a castle and holds in his hand a naked sword to strike a wodehouse, who is carrying away a lady." Oddly enough, since the inventory adds that inside the cover there is an enamel of a lady holding a lion by a chain, we may be quite certain that a ceiling painting at the Alhambra,² wherein the knight rescues from the wodehouse a lady, who holds a lion by a chain, was the result of a confusion by the artist of these two motifs which he found together on a cup similar to that described in the inventory. This curious fact does not, however, bring us any nearer to an identification. In two English MSS., whose date is about 1325, we find illuminations of a knight on foot, piercing with his spear a wodehouse, who has a lady in his clutches. These are the Smithfield Decretals (MS. 10 E IV) at the British Museum and the Taymouth Horae in the possession of Mr. Yates Thompson of London. In both MSS. this scene is simply one of a series, and in the Horae the series is accompanied by inscriptions in Anglo-Norman which relate the story.³ Though the illustration of the story in English, French, and Spanish art of the fourteenth century would argue a considerable degree of popularity, I have been unable to

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 21, 96.

² Gourey and Jones, *Alhambra*, I, Pl. XLVIII.

³ H. Y. Thompson, *Fifty MSS.*, *Second Series*, M.S. 57.

trace it in this precise form.¹ The explanatory legends of the Taimouth Horae, however, give us the gist of the tale. Two damsels went out one day to gather flowers. A wodehouse, lurking in the woods, pounces upon one of them and after a struggle carries her away. An old knight, Enyas by name, comes to her rescue, despatches the monster, and leaves its bleeding carcass on the ground. At first the lady pours forth protestations of gratitude. Presently, as they walk, they are met by a young knight, who insolently demands that Enyas surrender the lady to his care. Enyas agrees that she be allowed to take her choice between them. Alas for feminine gratitude! she is ensnared by the rosy cheeks and saffron locks of the young knight; she forsakes her deliverer. The young knight, finding his effrontery successful, now demands the hound of Enyas. The latter agrees to a similar test. The dog is placed midway between them, each blows his horn, but the faithful dog returns to his master. The young knight, however, threateningly declares that he is resolved to have the dog as well as the damsel. Enyas, at the end of his patience, swiftly draws his sword and slays his enemy. The lady, alarmed at being left alone in the forest, beseeches Enyas to lead her out of it, only to receive a scornful rebuke for her unnatural conduct. He departs; two hungry bears leap out of the wood, and speedily devour this example of gross ingratitude.

The other scene represents a knight, just dismounted from his horse, clasping the hand of a bearded man in monastic garb, who holds a large key and appears to have emerged from a gateway behind him. The identification of this scene was suggested to me by Abbey's painting called the Key of the Castle in the Boston Public Library. The passage illustrated is to be found in the prose romance called the *Queste del Saint Graal*,² and relates that Galahad, after undertaking to abolish the evil custom of the Castle of the Maidens, meets and overcomes the seven knights who hold the place. When he approaches the drawbridge, an old man clad in the garb of religion meets him and brings him the keys, saying: "Sire, take these keys. Now may you do with this castle and those who are therein your pleasure; for you have so wrought that the castle is yours." Taking the keys, Galahad enters and finds

¹ Interesting parallels, however, are to be found in the *Chevalier à l'Espée*, the *Vengeance Raguidel*, the prose *Tristan*, and the Dutch *Lancelot*.

² *Les Aventures ou la Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. O. Sommer, p. 35.



Fig. 1. DETACHED PLAQUE FROM IVORY CASKET IN MORGAN COLLECTION, NEW YORK. JOUSTING SCENE.

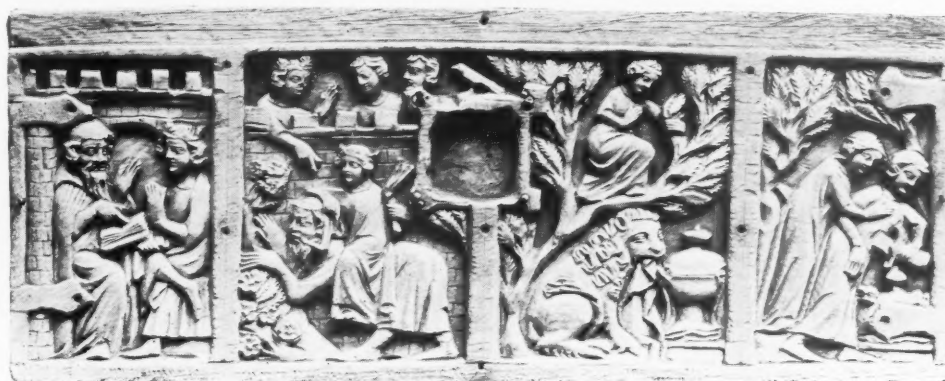
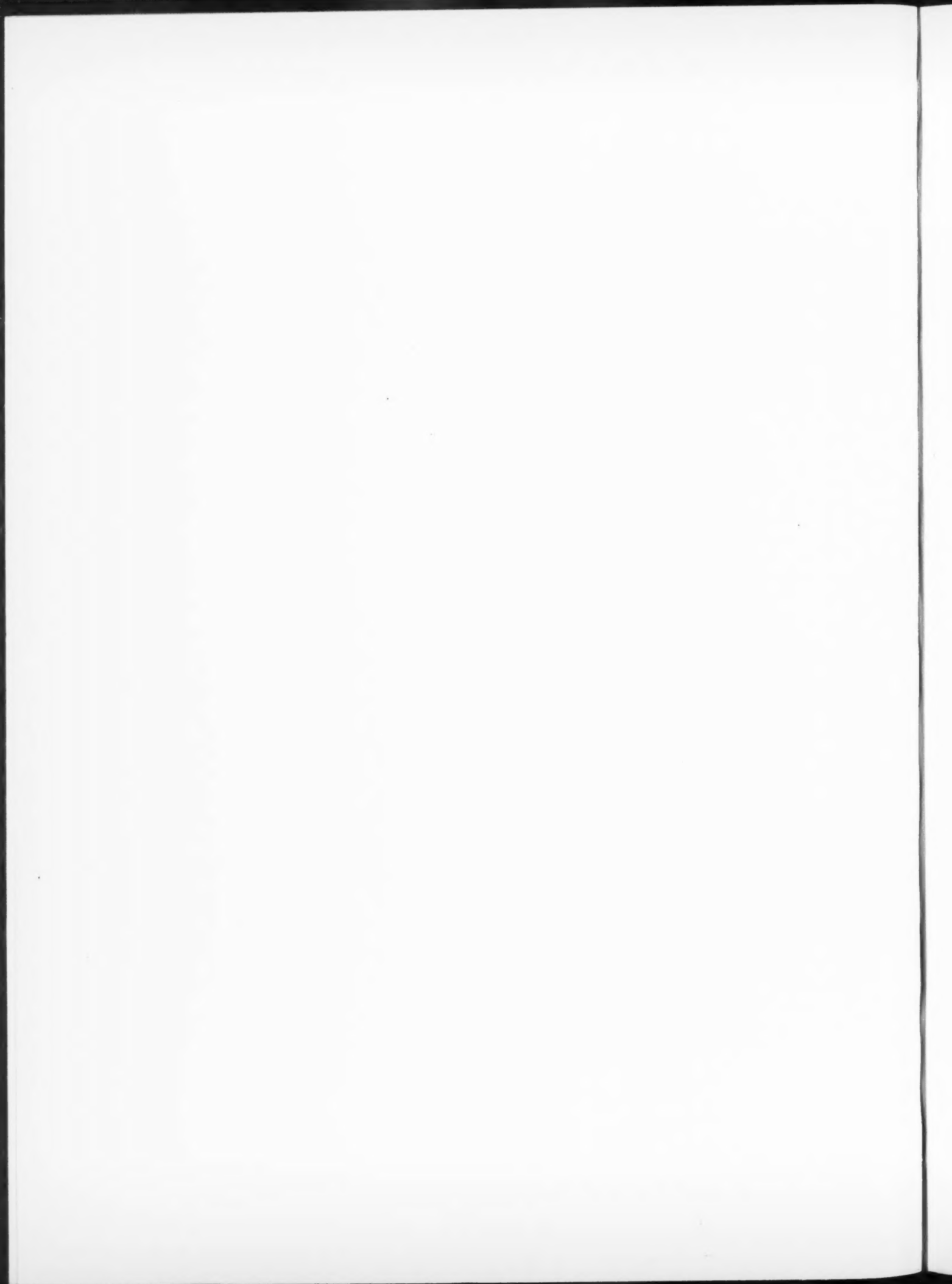


Fig. 2. DETACHED PLAQUE FROM IVORY CASKET IN MORGAN COLLECTION. HUMILIATION OF ARISTOTLE. PYRAMUS AND THISBE.



Fig. 3. SIDE OF IVORY CASKET IN MORGAN COLLECTION. ENYAS AND THE WODEHOUSE. GALAHAD'S ARRIVAL AT THE CASTLE OF THE MAIDENS.



in the streets countless maidens. All bid him welcome and bless God who has brought him to deliver them from the dolorous castle.

The subjects carved upon this casket suggest comparison with two other monuments of medieval decorative art. One of them, a sculptured capital in the church of St. Pierre, Caen,¹ assigned to a date near the year 1308, shows a relation to the caskets which has been frequently noticed. It has in common with them four scenes: the humiliation of Aristotle, the unicorn, the Sword Bridge, and the Perilous Bed. Since the treatment of these subjects on the capital does not resemble the treatment on the caskets, the mason of Caen could not have been trained in the school of ivory carvers by whom the caskets were produced. Furthermore, since his treatment of the Sword Bridge does not exhibit the mistaken introduction of the missiles, he could not have used one of the caskets as his model. Probably, then, he must have used as his source the designs upon which the ivory workers drew, or at least a similar set.

A further light is shed upon the subject by a consideration of the second monument to which I have alluded. This is an embroidery of the first third of the fourteenth century, made at or near Freiburg in Breisgau, and now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum of that city.² It has four subjects in common with the Caen capital: the humiliation of Aristotle, the unicorn, Samson's struggle with the lion, and the humiliation of Virgil. It seems not unlikely, then, that the embroidery, the capital, and the caskets, all are derived from manuscripts of some French book of well-known secular art motifs. This supposition is strengthened by the existence of a definitely marked scheme, pointed out by Schweitzer in the Freiburg embroidery and by Antoniewicz in some of the scenes on the caskets. On the former are illustrated the betrayal of Samson by Delilah, the humiliation by women of Aristotle and Virgil, the wedding of the faithless Laudine to Ivain, the slayer of her husband, and finally the unicorn. Manifestly there is here intended a pictorial antithesis between the examples of love's folly on the one hand, and the symbol of chastity on the other. On the casket, too, Tristram and Isolt, the types of unhallowed love, are set off against the symbol of chastity; the senile infatuation of Aris-

¹ A. Gasté, *Chapiteau de l'Église S. Pierre de Caen*.

² H. Schweitzer, *Bilderteppiche und Stickereien*, p. 8, reprint from *Schauinsland*, 1904.

totle against the delicious embraces of immortal youth. If we may press the point further, a certain antithesis was perhaps intended between Lancelot's sufferings in quest of Guenever and Gawain's peril in the quest of the holy Bleeding Lance. Now we know of the existence of at least one fairly popular medieval book, the *Cy Nous Dit*, in which multifarious common art motifs from various literary sources were gathered together and used to point a somewhat strained moral.¹ Such a collection, used without reference to the moral significations, would explain the Caen capital, where no symbolical scheme can be detected. Such a collection, used with careful reference to the interpretations, would explain the embroidery and all but two of the panels of the casket. Such a collection, if, as the embroidery and the caskets lead us to believe, it supplied frequently, besides the illumination depicting the scene of moral significance, one or two illuminations of other scenes in the same story, would explain these two panels also. For it would seem as if the man who chose the designs for the casket, desiring to point a contrast between women grateful and ungrateful, found in the manuscript stories illustrative of these qualities, but with an odd lapse of intelligence took, not the scenes where the lady forsook Enyas or the maidens welcomed their deliverer Galahad, but other associated scenes of no moral significance.

In comparing the members of this group of caskets with each other, we do not find that the Morgan casket is the most careful copy of the archetype to which they all go back. A scrutiny of the casket itself or of the reproductions to which I have referred will show that in the panel representing the Surrender of the Castle of Love two male figures, one crowned, are mistakenly introduced among the defenders, who should all, of course, be women. The four panels on the back have each its variation from the original. On the left, Gawain's sword should be in act to slice off at one blow the head and paw of the lion, as in all the other caskets. In the next panel the hail of missiles is mistakenly carried over from the adjoining panel. This in turn represents anachronistically the paw which does not adhere to Gawain's shield till later in the romance. The fourth panel introduces trees into what should be an indoor scene. The Cracow casket, which contains the fewest misunderstandings, can best claim to represent the arche-

¹ Paulin Paris, *Manuscripts François*, IV, p. 77.

type. On the other hand, the casket which in 1753 belonged to M. de Boze presents a highly interesting case of the other extreme, in which the carver has seized upon several features of this type of casket, altered them, and mixed them up in a sort of iconographical hodgepodge with other motifs with which they had no connection.¹ There is none of the group, however, which surpasses the Morgan example in artistic qualities. The swaying figures and sweeping drapery characteristic of fourteenth century art are gracefully rendered, and the panels depicting the meeting of Tristram and Isolt and the slaying of the unicorn are little masterpieces of composition.

TWO LATE FRENCH GOTHIC TAPESTRIES · BY STELLA RUBINSTEIN

THE production of tapestries in France though less known than those of Flanders is nevertheless of the greatest importance. This is attested by the inventories of kings and princes of the royal families. In the fourteenth century the court of the Valois in France, and especially that of Charles V. and his brothers, Louis Duke of Anjou, Jean Duke of Berri and Philippe le Hardi Duke of Burgundy, was one of the most artistic and sumptuous of the time and attracted the best artists and men of letters. We possess but few tapestries of this period and those that escaped destruction are mainly religious. It is well known how the Hundred Years' War devastated France and how when the English entered Paris during the folly of Charles VI. they ravaged the royal palaces and took possession of tapestries which had accumulated there since more than a century.²

The tapestries of the French Gothic period were very decorative and expressed in themselves all the qualities required in tapestries. They were by no means imitations of paintings as were most of those of the Renaissance period.

Two late Gothic tapestries in the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, here reproduced, date from the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. They belong

¹ Ferrario, *Analisi degli Romansi*, II, p. 101. This casket has disappeared save for three panels which are preserved at Mainingen.

² Jules Guiffrey: "Histoire générale de la tapisserie—Tapisseries françaises," p. 26.

to the series of hunting and rustic scenes which are found very frequently at this time. The cessation of the feudal system brought a succession of changes in the life and customs of the people. One of the most marked was a return to nature exhibited in the occupations of certain social classes. Everywhere signs are evident of this closer communion with outdoor life. The new tendencies are well represented in the two tapestries, the first of which represents a hunting scene (Fig. 1).

A dark blue background is strewn with leaves, narcissus, lilies, tulips, marguerites and other flowers. On a white horse is seated a young woman wearing a long brocaded dress, opened at the front exposing a rose skirt beneath, and on her blond hair she wears a bonnet. Her right hand holds the reins of the animal and balanced on her left is a falcon. Holding the bridle in front and leading the horse is a young man who is turned toward her. His short vest has passementerie round the wide sleeves which are slashed so as to show the puffs of an inner white sleeve. A sword is attached to his belt and in his left hand is a soft hat with a ribbon around it.

Behind this group on a light brown horse is seated a young man and woman. He is dressed in a pleated rose robe which stops just below the ankles and is ornamented with a passementerie border. A small round hat having a blue and white ribbon band is on his blond curly hair. He holds the horse's reins in his right hand while in his left is a long chain, the end of which is attached to a little dog which runs beside the horse, its head turned up to its master. The young woman behind him has her right hand on his shoulder and holds a whip in her left. Her robe is light bluish brocade and a rose mantle is thrown carelessly over her shoulders, while a little bonnet covers her head. Two falcons, one of which is white, fly in the background.

The whole party moves forward across the tapestry in a rhythmic and poetic manner and the spirit of the entire piece is one of delicacy and finesse, having colors that blend softly and harmoniously. It came from the Mège Collection; from there it passed to Mr. Charles T. Barney, from whose collection it came to its present owners.

The tapestry was exhibited in Paris in 1913 in the Hotel Sagan where it excited unanimous admiration. It was mentioned and reproduced by two great authorities on French art, by M. Émile

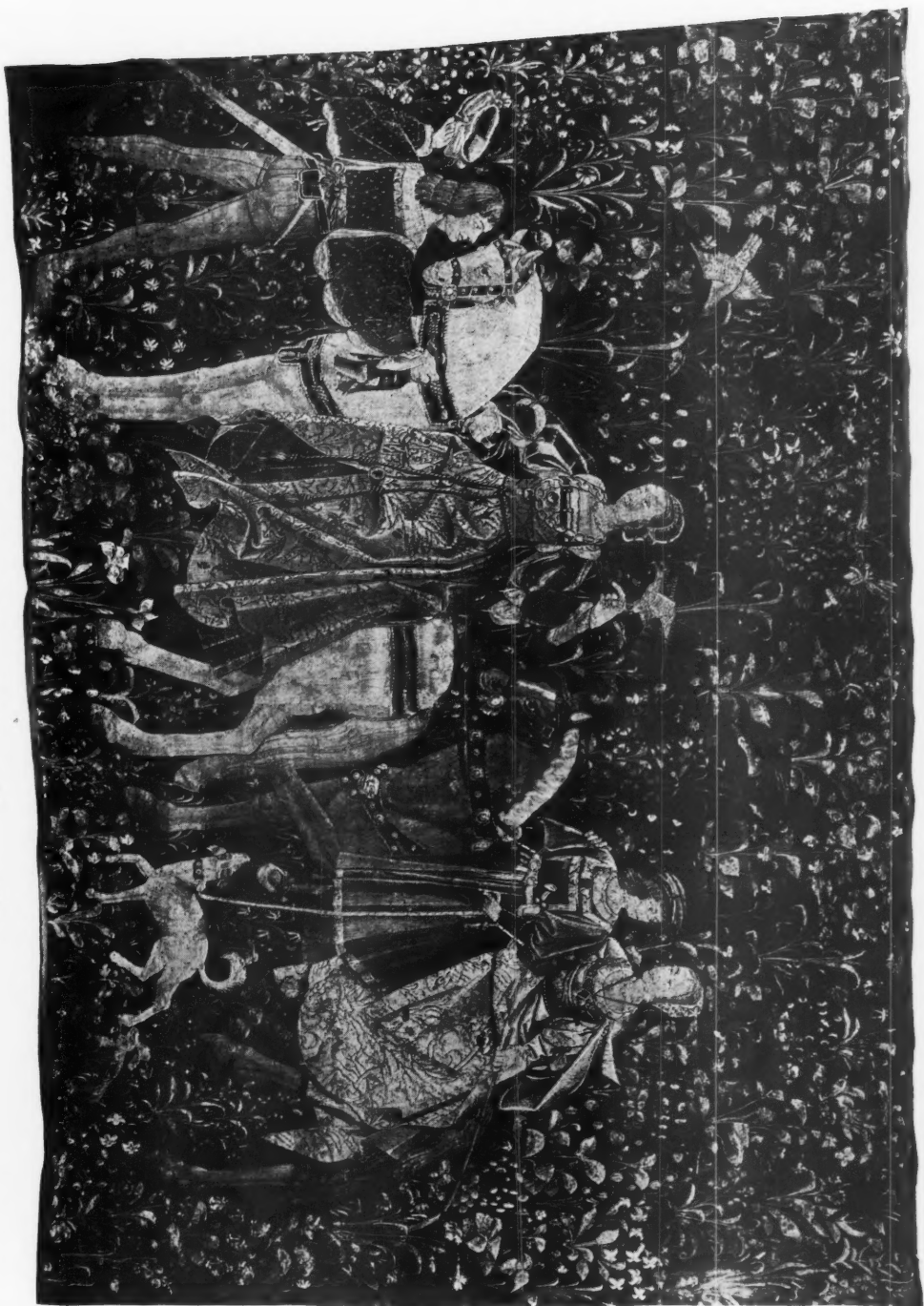
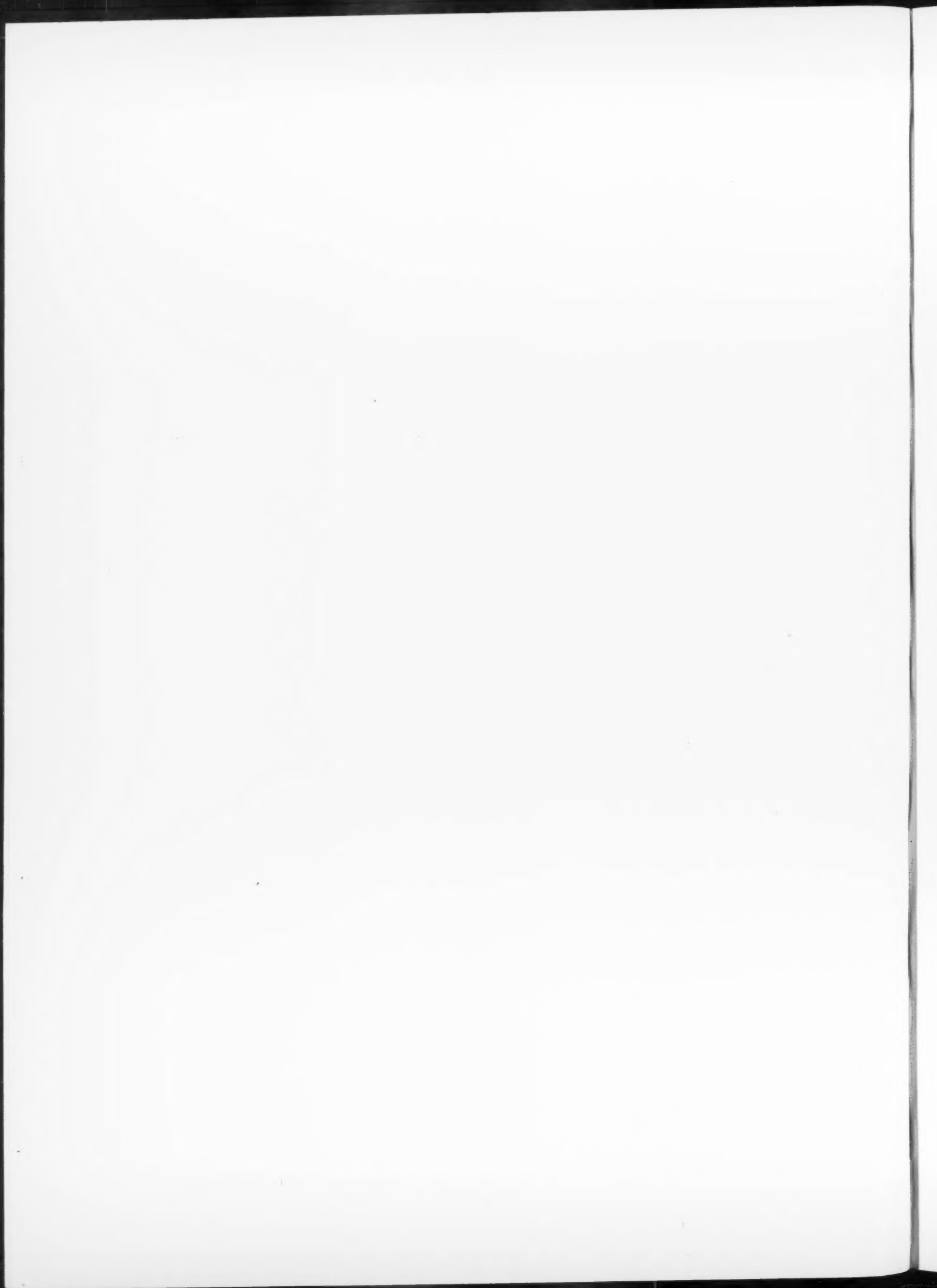


Fig. 1. FRENCH GOTHIC TAPESTRY: HUNTING SCENE.
Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York.



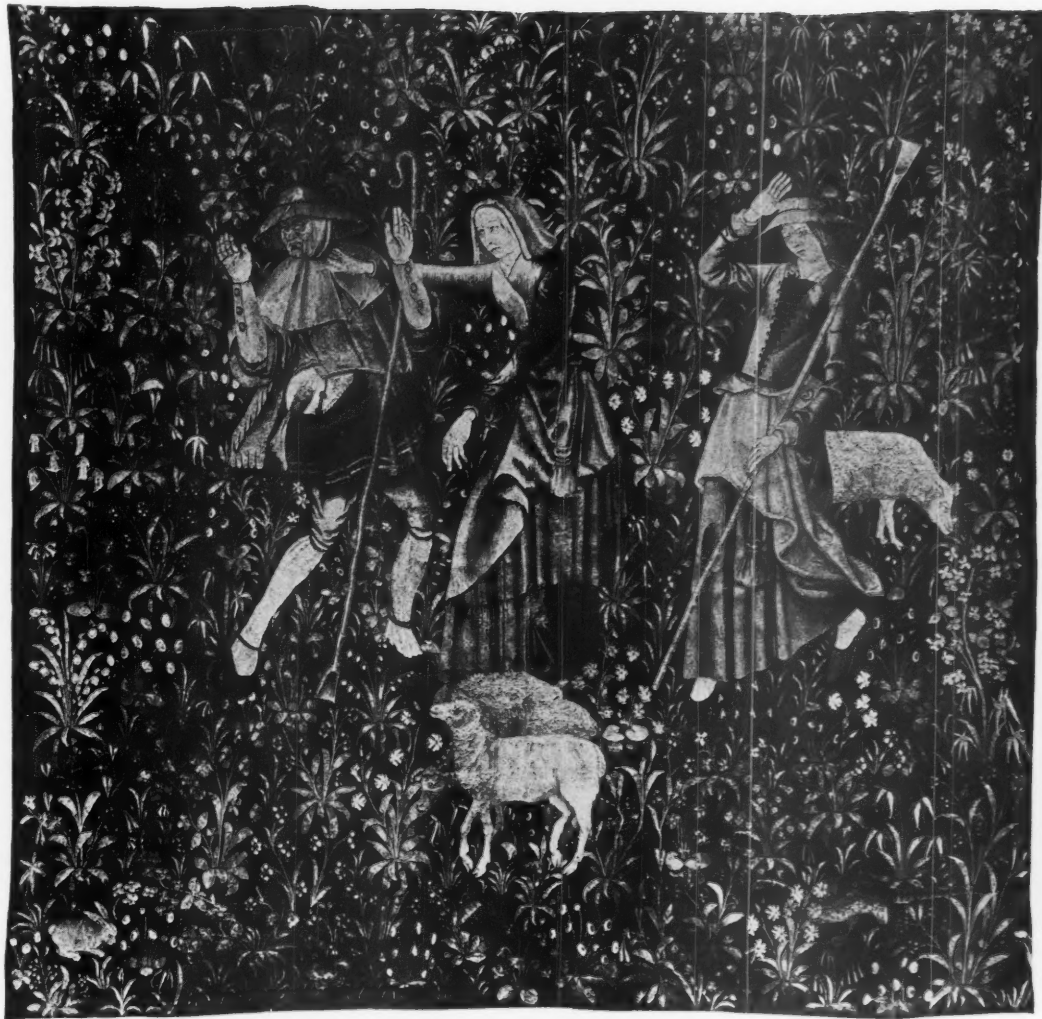
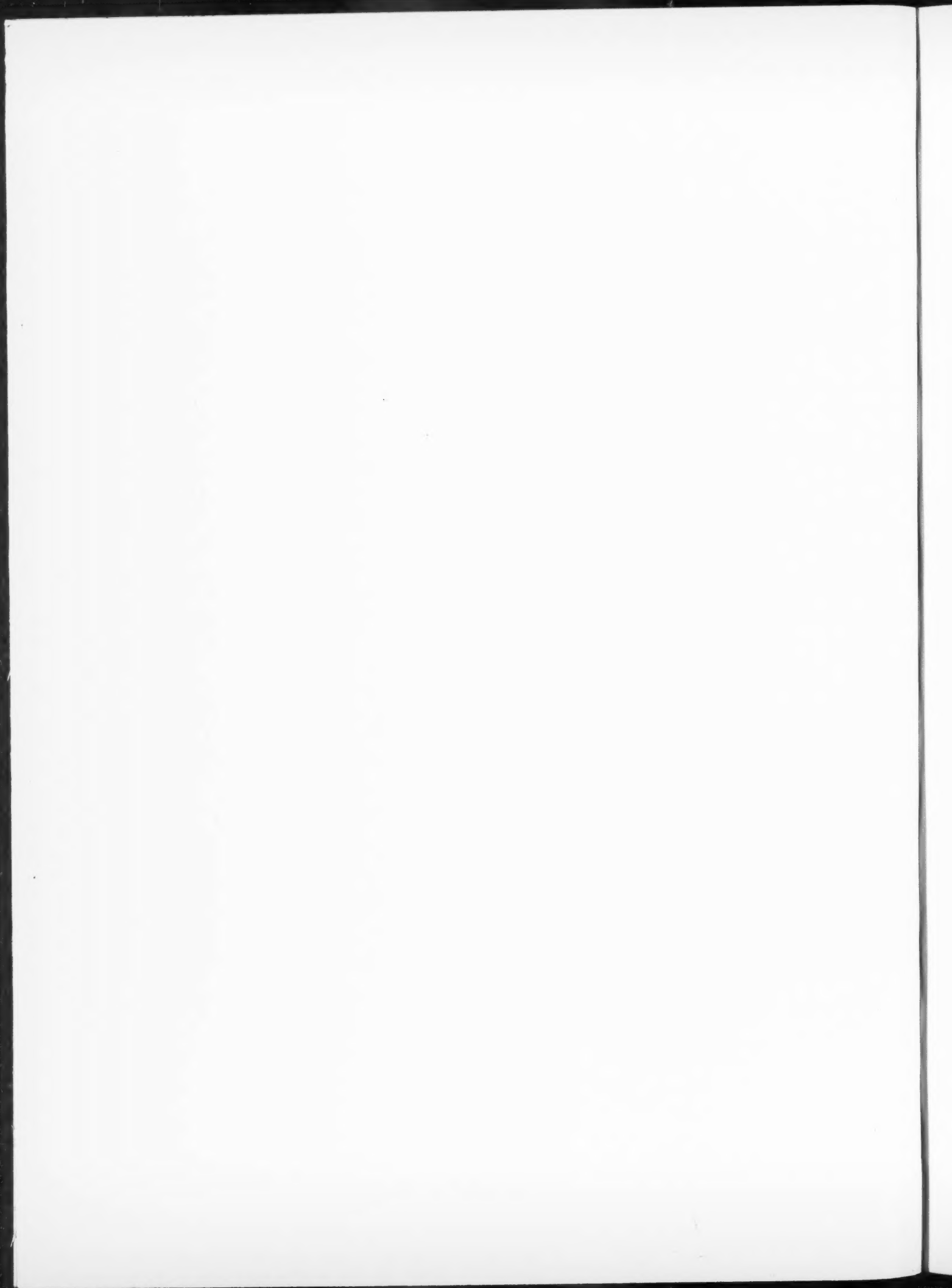


Fig. 2. FRENCH GOTHIC TAPESTRY: SHEPHERD AND SHEPHERDESSES.
Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York.



Bertaux in "L'Art ancien et moderne," 1913, vol. 34, and by M. Paul Vitry in "Les Arts," 1913, September, p. 29.

The costumes fix the exact date of the tapestry. The Italian influence, which was already quite visible with the first Italian expedition of Charles VIII., became much stronger about 1500 under the reign of Louis XII. The style fashionable at this time was the dress opened in front from the waist-line down and having sleeves slashed in such a way as to show the white undergarment beneath. This style can be observed in many of the Italian paintings of the time and is very pronounced in the hunting tapestry which we have described. The costume of the men, also modified at this period, became the characteristic costume of the time of Louis XII and included a short pleated gown with wide sleeves, the round soft hat with turned-up rim, and shoes with very large tops, which are seen in this same hunting tapestry.

The second tapestry (Fig. 2), which comes from the Schutz Collection, is a rustic scene and represents a shepherd and shepherdesses with their flock.¹ On a similar flowered background diversified with small running animals, are the personages, disposed in a manner which is at once simple and intelligible. This tapestry belongs to the same group as the hunting tapestry and both can be included in a group of French weaving which developed all the natural qualities of the French spirit. They are always very simple, the background is rich but does not overshadow the importance of the scene represented, for the personages stand out most prominently; they are not overcrowded with too many people and those represented are disposed logically and freely over the surface. As in the hunting tapestry, the individuals are gallant, amiable and gracious, or as in the Shepherd and Shepherdesses, they breathe a spirit of rural life.

These tapestries belong to the series, the most wonderful that French art has produced, the "Dame à Licorne" which is now in the Cluny Museum in Paris.² We find in them the tendency so characteristic of the late French Gothic tapestries, the arrangement of a few people on a flowered background diversified with small animals. Two other tapestries of the same character are in the Martin Le Roy Collection³ and represent allegorical subjects, in which background,

¹ Reproduced in Guiffrey: "Les tapisseries du XIIe au XVIe siècle," p. 57, no. 28.

² One of the series is reproduced in Guiffrey: "Les tapisseries du XIIe au XVIe siècle," p. 96, pl. IV.

³ Marquet de Vasselot: Catalogue de la Collection Martin Le Roy, Vol. IV, pl. III-IV.

types and costumes are very similar to those we have described. In the Collection of Albert Bossy there is a tapestry representing Musicians¹ which shows again the same background, costumes and shoes. In the Musée des Arts Décoratifs are other tapestries, one of Musicians with similar analogies, one representing a Promenade in the country²; in the Musée des Gobelins one representing a Concert,³ and so on.

They all belong to one of the best periods of French weaving. The pictures are like story illustrations, the design is not always correct, neither are the personages always beautiful, but they are expressive, picturesque and tell their story in a simple and intelligible way. Unfortunately the place in France where they were made and the ateliers which produced them are unknown. At the time of their origin monograms were not added. Only in 1528 did they begin to use them. Considering their great charm and beauty of composition they should belong to the School of the Loire, but the documentary evidence for any conclusion is not sufficiently positive.

PREHISTORIC GOLD-WORK IN AMERICA · BY CHARLES W. MEAD

THE unscrupulous quest of gold by Spanish adventurers in the New World, which resulted in so much misery and loss of life, had its beginning on Friday, the twelfth of October, 1492, when Columbus reached one of the Bahama Islands and took possession of it in the name of the Castilian sovereigns, calling it San Salvador. The admiral noticed that some of the natives, gathered about him, wore small ornaments of gold in their noses, and these they were quickly induced to exchange for glass beads and small hawks' bells. The cupidity of the Spaniards was greatly aroused by the sight of these small pieces of the precious metal, and the search for gold was begun without loss of time. Every effort was made to ascertain where the metal was obtained, but their means of communicating with the natives were so imperfect that their hunt from one place to another in the islands resulted in little but loss of time.

As is well known, Columbus saw but little of the mainland of

¹ Reproduced in *Les Arts*, 1904, no. 35, p. 19.

² Guiffrey: "Tapisseries du XII^e au XVI^e siècle," p. 40, pl. II.

³ Guiffrey: "Tapisseries du XII^e au XVI^e siècle," p. 90, no. 51.

the Western Hemisphere: a part of the northern coast of South America, on his third voyage, and of that of Central America from Guanaja Island, to a point about halfway between Colon and the Gulf of Darien during his fourth voyage. While at Chiriqui in the fall of 1502 he notes that some of the natives wore plates of gold suspended about their necks. Acosta's account also says: "The natives wore plates of fine gold hung from the neck." These were the first pieces of fine gold the Spaniards had seen on the coast, and they took by force from two of the natives ornaments which had been refused in trade. These weighed respectively twenty-two and fourteen ducats. Later the name Castilla del Oro was given to the entire Isthmian region.

A few years later, when Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was exploring the Isthmus he took immense treasures of wrought gold from the native chiefs, and everyone is familiar with the story of the vast treasures wrested from the natives of Peru by Pizarro and his followers. In the histories of Spanish discoveries in America the lust for gold is written on every page.

The region where gold was most abundant, and where the art of gold-working reached its highest development in the Western world, includes Mexico in the north, and extends to the southern boundaries of Peru and Bolivia. A number of different peoples inhabited this large extent of territory in prehistoric times, and while their methods of mining and washing gold must have been much alike, the forms of their ornaments and methods of decorating them differed greatly. The art of each people had developed along different lines, as is seen in their pottery vessels and other artifacts, and it is a knowledge of the peculiarities of the art of each locality that enables the archæologist to determine whence any piece came.

Before saying anything about the manufacture of these gold ornaments, it must be stated that a number of the processes are not positively known. My meaning will be made clear when I say that copper objects plated with gold are found in the ancient graves. By what means this was done we do not know.

As has been said, the art of gold-working was more highly developed in some localities than in others. In all we find casting in moulds and hammering employed. The Chibchas of Colombia carved a model or pattern of the desired figure in high relief in stone, over which the gold was hammered. When skilfully done,

the human figure, animal or other design raised on the stone form would be reproduced, with the reverse side hollowed out.

In the Province of Chiriqui it would seem that models were made of some substance like wax or resin, over which were placed coatings of clay or other substance which could stand great heat. These coatings would form the mould from which the model could be melted out through small holes left for that purpose. Small figures in reddish resin have been found in graves of Chiriqui that were identical in style with the gold ornaments under discussion.

Professor W. H. Holmes, writing on "The Ancient Art of Chiriqui," says: "Mr. William Hallock, of the division of chemistry and physics of the United States Geological Survey, suggests that if the various sections of a metal ornament were embedded in the surface of a mass of fire clay in their proper relations and contacts they could then be completely inclosed in the mass and subjected to heat until the metal melted and ran together. After cooling, the complete figure could be removed by breaking up the clay matrix."

More remarkable than anything else connected with the gold-work of the peoples of the New World is the fact that they frequently covered a figure of copper with fine gold by plating or washing. Acosta, the old historian, states that the Indians had much *gilt* copper.

As has been said, no satisfactory theory has so far been advanced as to a process by which these primitive people could have accomplished this plating, which is sometimes quite thick and at others a mere wash of gold. It is scarcely less remarkable that solder was used in joining parts of metal objects. This has been doubted by some authors, but the writer can state positively that such was the case at least in that part of the country now occupied by the Republics of Peru and Bolivia. Examples of soldering occur most frequently in finger rings, hollow human figurines, and in the hollow llama figures. These are all made in copper, silver and gold. Peruvian finger rings are of two sorts: those cast solid and those made of broad, thin strips of metal, bent into a circle, one end overlapping the other. If these last are separated where the overlapping occurs, considerable bunches of solder will be found near either side on the under end of the strip. It is not so readily seen in the other objects, as the junctures have been carefully burnished. Indeed, from the nature of things it could not well be detected unless

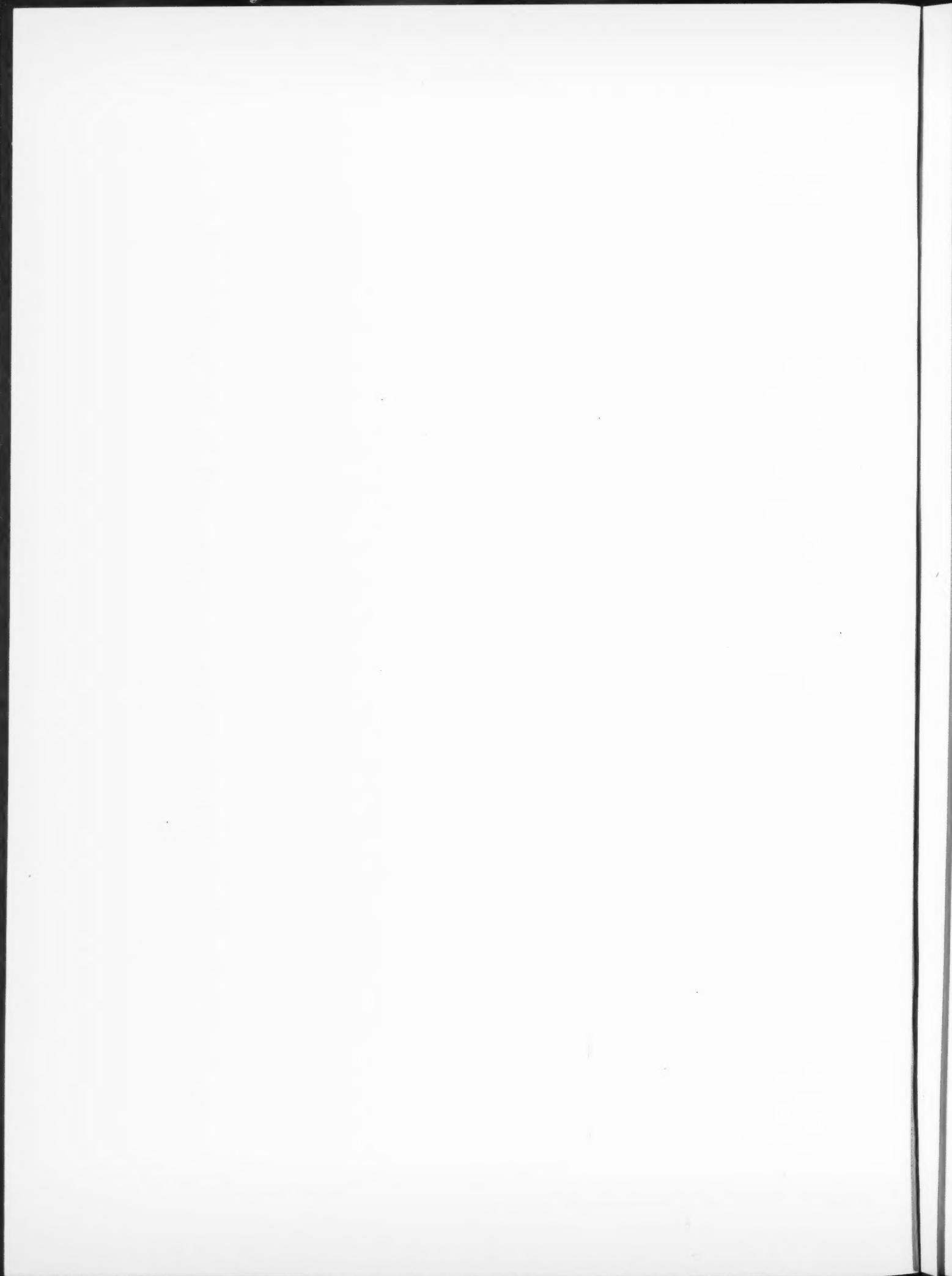


1, 4, 8, left row,
reading down.

2, 5, 9, center row,
reading down.

3, 6, 7, 10, right row,
reading down.

GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM PREHISTORIC GRAVES IN AMERICA.
Mexico, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7; Chiriqui, 5 and 9; Costa Rica, 8 and 10.



a broken specimen were examined. As the larger pieces are rare and valuable, it will readily be understood that the possessor of such a treasure would naturally object to having an examination made which would mean serious injury to it.

It is only a small percentage of the prehistoric graves opened that contain gold ornaments of much value, and the other objects in such graves are generally superior, showing that the same inequality in the possession of this world's goods prevailed then as now.

A large range of animal forms was represented by these ancient goldsmiths. Perhaps the most common are the human figure, birds, frogs, fish, crocodiles and monkeys. While some of these are very realistic, by far the greater number are highly conventionalized. Many of their figures are undoubtedly connected with religious rites.

The accompanying plate shows gold-work from Mexico, Chiriqui and Costa Rica. Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are from Mexico. No. 1 represents the head of a monkey, conventionalized. No. 2 is a fine piece of artistic gold-work. It shows the head of a harpy eagle, and has a beautiful polish. No. 3 is an owl's head. Nos. 4, 6 and 7 are also from Mexico. Nos. 4 and 6 are bells of a type very common in the old graves of that country. No. 6 is a particularly beautiful specimen. No. 7 is an ornament worn through a hole pierced in the lower lip; the cylindrical part goes through the lip, and is held in position by the shoulder on the inside. Nos. 5 and 9 are from Chiriqui, and doubtless represent gods. The larger figure contains over two hundred dollars' worth of gold. Nos. 8 and 10 are from Costa Rica, and also represent deities.

We see in these gold ornaments the characteristics of primitive art. These peoples made very truthful representations of objects familiar to them in their daily life. In course of time they progressed beyond mere realism, and conventionalism began. Conservatism is strong in primitive peoples, and led to both methods of expression at the same time.

In a paper of this length it is an unprofitable task to compare the prehistoric gold-work of America with that of the peoples of the Old World, by our present-day standards; but something may be said. If the attempt is made we shall find much in favor of both sides. In each is a multiplicity of truly artistic forms, and much beautiful workmanship. Taken as a whole, their art is entirely

unlike in character; the Old World work in its forms and ornamentation more nearly resembles that of the present time.

We must remember that there had never been any contact, and that their art standards were not the same. The American artist, when he wished to depict a certain animal form, generally drew or moulded a highly conventionalized figure which would appear to one unacquainted with primitive art as simply a geometrical design, and he would probably see in it no suggestion of any particular animal or, indeed, of any animal at all.

To illustrate this point, we will suppose the animal to be represented was the puma. In this case the design would contain lines showing the arched back and tail common to the cat family, and very likely little else suggesting this great cat. These highly conventionalized forms were as quickly recognized among themselves as would have been the most realistic representation of a puma; it was a higher form of their art.

Many of the greatest paintings represent characters and scenes inspired by religion, and so it was with the American artist before the dawn of history. His subjects were largely chosen among the deities connected with his religious beliefs, and with his mythology. The puma, spoken of above, was one of the gods he worshipped, which accounts for the frequency with which we find it represented in pottery, cloth and metal work.

Most of their deities were represented as part human and part animal, or a human figure with a part of the animal attached in some way to it. We see examples of the latter in the Costa Rica gods reproduced. No. 8 has four triangular designs representing puma heads: one on each side above, and two below. No. 10 has six serpent heads, and we may confidently assume that these figures represent respectively the puma god and the serpent god.

The decorative work of the Old World goldsmith, as we know it from the collections in museums, seems to be much more realistic than that found in America. His designs are often made in circles, and frequently his motives are drawn from the plant world. In America the motives were taken from animal life, and plant motives but very rarely were used. This difference in motives gives the work of the American a more archaic appearance.

Gold-work brought to light in ruined cities of Assyria does not show a very great variety of forms. The most common are dishes,

goblets and earrings. These are all of beautiful workmanship. The earrings are adorned with pearls, and resemble those worn by Arab women at the present time. Inlays of gold or bronze are not uncommon, and some cubes of bronze have been found having inlays representing the scarab. The sacred beetle is very realistically shown, and the workmanship admirable. A number of stone moulds have been found in which were cast gold earrings and other ornaments, the lion-headed deity, the cone, the bull's head, and the sacred signs seen in the Nimroud sculptures.

The Egyptians worked gold mines and extracted annual tributes of the precious metal from the conquered provinces in Asia and Africa in the form of dust, vases and other manufactured objects. Their gold-work is to be found in many of our museums, and was very different in character to that of the New World artisans, as shown in the plate accompanying this paper.

CERAMIC AMERICANA OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PART FOUR · BY R. T. H. HALSEY

UNQUESTIONABLY to Americans the most fascinating figure which looms up upon our historical retrospective is that of Benjamin Franklin, printer, philosopher, *littérateur*, scientist and later statesman and diplomat. Franklin lived in England and France during the period when ceramic medallion portraiture reached its highest excellence in northern Europe; his popularity with both masses and classes was commercialized with resultant profit to certain manufacturers of clay bas-reliefs.

In Part II of this series we have seen how Wedgwood during the period of 1774 to 1781 visualized Franklin's beneficent features in bas-relief to the extent of reproducing them in twenty-eight varieties of model, size and color. Naturally, the commercial success of these portraits by Wedgwood stimulated his rivals. The Leeds pottery has given us a Franklin in black basalt, differing but little from the one Wedgwood modeled after the Caffieri type. The same French portrait served as a model for Richard Champion of Bristol, England, whose hard-paste porcelains are so highly treasured by the ceramic collectors of England. To Americans, Champion's productions should have added charm in that they represent the work of an idealistic admirer of America.

Richard Champion of Bristol was a successful merchant engaged in the American trade. His brother-in-law, Caleb Lloyd, was his correspondent in Charleston, S. C., and while there was appointed in 1765 to the honorable but unhappy (as it proved) position of Collector of Stamps for South Carolina. A box of porcelain earth consigned in 1765 by Caleb Lloyd to Champion undoubtedly turned his thoughts to the possibility of successfully engaging in the industry "of making Chinese porcelain in England."

Champion's correspondence with his brother-in-law, Edmund Burke, Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Richmond and others, as printed in Owen's "Two centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol" (1873), which devotes nearly fifty of its pages to Champion's correspondence on American affairs, reveals many an interesting anecdote of the momentous period just prior to the American Revolution. The following extract from a letter to Caleb Lloyd evidences Champion's standing in the community as well as the state of mind of George III when he gave approval to the legislation which repealed the Stamp Act: "The day Lord Rockingham waited on the King, to know his pleasure about the repeal of the Stamp Act, His Majesty expressed his full approbation, without the least qualification; desiring Lord Winchelsea and Lord Rockingham to be with him early. Lord Winchelsea called on Lord Rockingham at 11 o'clock, but Lord Rockingham not being ready, Lord Winchelsea went before him to the King. He was not long absent, but returned to Lord R. and told him that he found the King greatly heated, walking up and down the room with warmth; and that as he went in to him, the Princess Dowager of Wales went out. Lord Rockingham went afterwards to the King and found him in this disposition. This was told me by Lord R. himself."

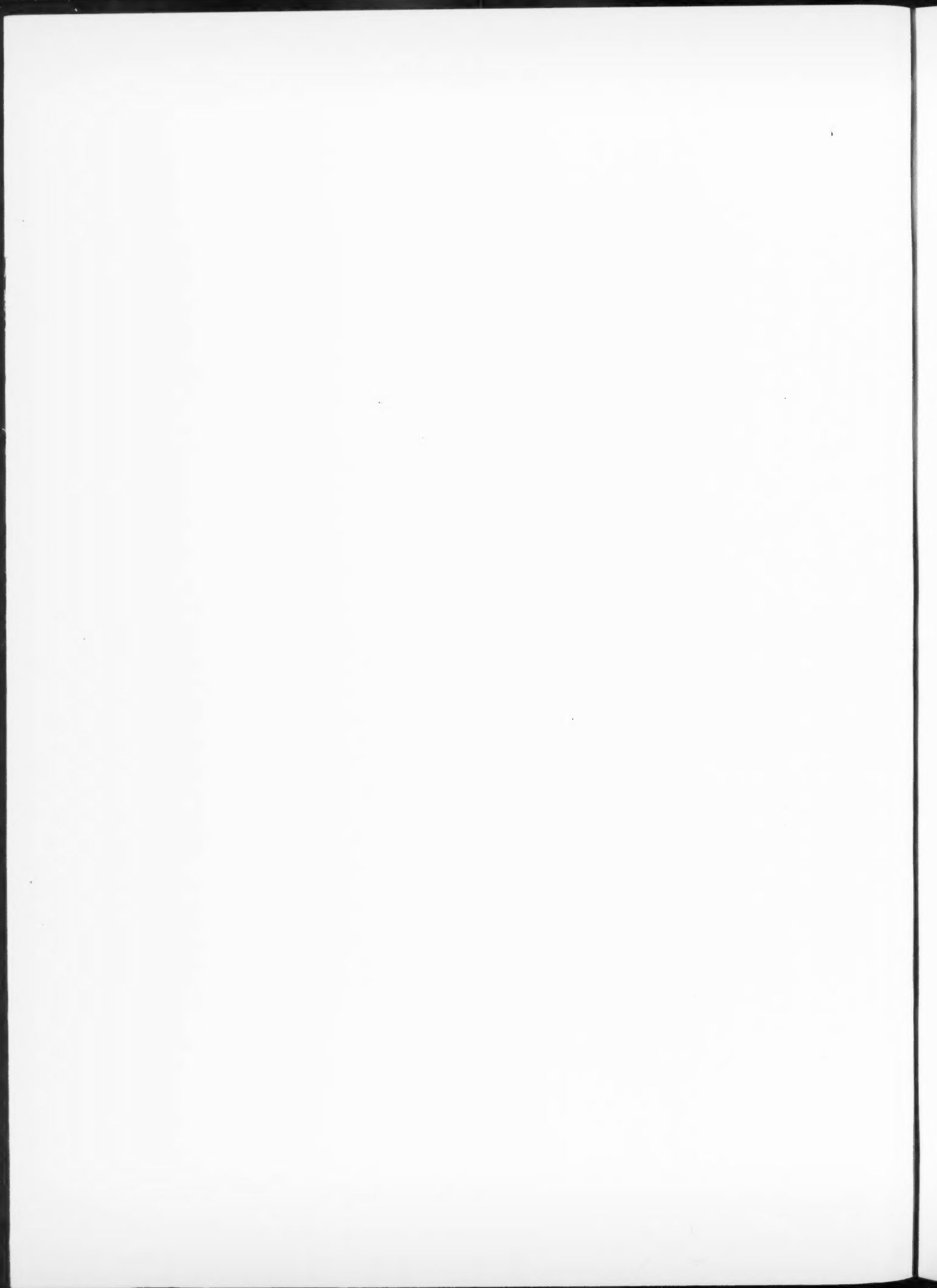
Champion was a friend of Franklin and an ardent Whig. In 1768 he became a leader in the movement just starting in England for community control of the Parliamentary conduct of representatives. He was a warm advocate of Edmund Burke's election to Parliament in 1774 from Bristol. The political acquaintance developed into an intimate friendship, which is memorialized in the form of an elaborately decorated tea-service, the joint gift of Champion and his wife to Edwin and Mrs. Burke. The beauty of its work and the personal touch thereon has caused a valuation to be put upon these pieces of many times their weight in gold, as attested



Fig. 1. GEORGE WASHINGTON, BY NEALE & CO.
Height, 12 inches.



Fig. 2. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, BY NEALE & CO.
Height, 12 inches.



by sales in the London auction rooms. As far back as 1871 the teapot sold for £190 and on its reappearance in 1907 for £441, and three years ago accompanied by its sugar basin, cream pitcher and two cups and saucers for £1,522. A cup and saucer of this set has recently been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In 1781 Burke secured for Champion the position of deputy paymaster-general of His Majesty's forces under the administration of Lord Rockingham. His long-continued longing for freedom of speech and thought caused Champion in 1784 to sail for South Carolina, where he settled. He then found leisure to tabulate his correspondence, much of which is so closely related to our country's history. Champion's brilliant scientific and artistic triumph turned out, as often happens, commercially disastrous. His most original pieces are oval plaques of white biscuit of great delicacy and beauty, which as a rule bore coats of arms in relief surrounded by elaborately modeled wreaths of flowers. The largest ($8\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ inches) and acknowledged to be the most beautiful, bear in the center portraits of Washington and Franklin and evidence the intensity of Champion's devotion to America and the democracy there arising. The pair can be seen in the galleries of the British Museum. From the same mold came other portraits of Franklin, which were mounted on glass fields and enclosed in wooden frames similar to those used for the safe-keeping of the wax medallions of the day.

Of remarkable interest and the utmost rarity are the large basalt plaque portraits of Washington and Franklin (Figs. 1, 2) put upon the market by Neale & Co. of Hanley, England, who had achieved considerable success as skilful imitators of various kinds of artistic pottery made by Wedgwood. The medallions are twelve inches in length and equal in historical interest any of Wedgwood's work. The Franklin was modeled after the well-known mezzotint portrait scraped by J. Elias Held in 1780, in which Franklin appears with head covered with the coon-skin cap which captivated France and served as well to shield his aged head from the wintry blasts. The Washington was unquestionably modeled from the splendid mezzotint scraped by Valentine Green in 1779 after a painting by Trumbull. The firm of Neale & Company apparently dissolved about 1785, hence the date of this remarkable pair of ceramic portraits can be safely ascribed to the period 1780-1785.

No review of the ceramic medallion portraiture of the Amer-

ican Revolution would be complete without mention of the *terre cuite* portraits of Franklin made by Jean Baptiste Nini (1717-86), a French sculptor of Italian origin, whose achievements in the plastic art led to his appointment to the directorship of the *terre cuite* works owned by Ray du Chaumont, a Frenchman of wealth and position, at Chaumont-sur-Loire. Nini—practically unknown to Americans save for his portraits of Franklin—was a sculptor of no ordinary ability as may be seen by a glance at the one hundred or more examples of his *terre cuite* medallion portraits of the period 1762-86, which are beautifully reproduced and described in detail in Storelli's sumptuous volume, "Jean Baptiste Nini—sa Vie, son Œuvre" (Paris, 1896). Nini had abundant opportunities for the study of Franklin, for it was du Chaumont who was Franklin's host at Passy during the nine long eventful years in which Franklin represented America at the French Court.

Any study of the beginning of the ancient friendship which exists between France and the United States must primarily be centered upon the life in Paris of Benjamin Franklin. The writings of Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire (each of whose portraits exists in Wedgwood), had prepared a fertile soil in France for Franklin and his story of the new democracy just born in the Western hemisphere. His instantaneous conquest of the Parisians makes one of the most entrancing chapters in the book of American history and his numerous contemporary portraits (a large number of which are to be seen in the splendid Huntington collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art) attest not only the personal popularity of this great American, but the widespread interest of the Parisians in distressed America, in whose behalf Franklin had come to Paris to plead. Franklin was human and his humanity was one of his strongest assets. He enjoyed these visualized evidences of popularity for themselves as well as for their artistic personification of the cause he represented.

Reference to the earliest of these Nini medallions, as well as to the Wedgwood medallions which had found a ready sale in Paris, and a graphic picture of the then existing craze in Paris for Frankliniana is given in the following extract from a letter Franklin penned to his daughter under the heading of Passy, June 3, 1779: "The Clay medallion of me you say you gave to Mr. Hopkinson was the first of the kind made in France. A variety of others have been made



Fig. 3.

Height, 5 inches.



Fig. 4.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, BY NINT.

Height, 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches.



Fig. 5.

Height, 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

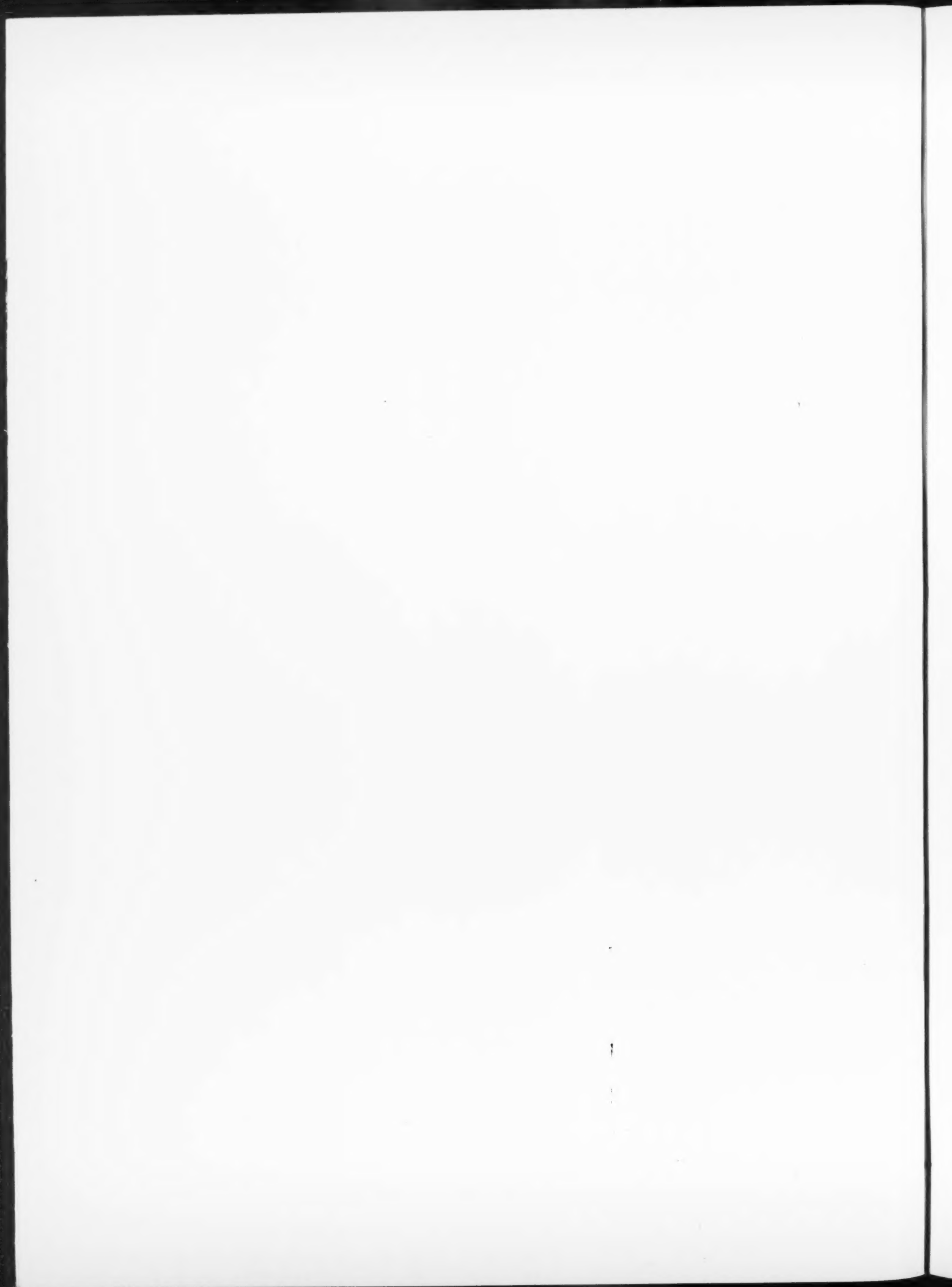




Fig. 7. ROUSSEAU, BY WEDGWOOD.
Height, 6 inches.

Fig. 6. JOHN LOCKE, BY WEDGWOOD.
Height, 14¼ inches.

Fig. 8. VOLTAIRE, BY WEDGWOOD.
Height, 5½ inches.

Fig. 9. ROUSSEAU, BY WEDGWOOD.
Height, 12 inches.

since of different sizes; some to be set in the lids of snuff boxes and some so small as to be worn in rings; and the numbers sold are incredible. These, with the pictures, busts and prints (of which copies upon copies are spread everywhere) have made your father's face as well known as that of the moon, so that he durst not do anything that would oblige him to run away, as his phiz would discover him wherever he should venture to show it. It is said by learned etymologists, that the name *Doll*, for the images children play with, is derived from the word *Idol*. From the number of dolls now made of him, he may be truly said, *in that sense, to be i-doll-ized* in this country." The same medallion was again referred to by Franklin five years later when denying a request for its gift with the statement that he had given his last remaining one to Ray du Chaumont to be forwarded to St. Petersburg to "satisfy the curiosity" of Catherine the Great in response to her Majesty's expressed wish.

Storelli describes four different types (with five variations) of these Nini portraits, three of which are illustrated (Figs. 3, 4, 5). All were signed and dated. These portraits were intensely personal. The spectacles call to mind Franklin's discovery of bifocal glasses, and the inscription, ERIPVIT COELO FULMEN SCEPTRUMQUE TIRANNIS, is said to have been suggested by Turgot as being applicable to Franklin. Underneath the left shoulder of each is a tiny armorial bearing in sharp relief. Its irregular shield is surmounted by a crown and frames a zigzag flash of lightning issuing from a background of clouds and striking a rod of iron grasped in a human hand—truly emblematic of Franklin's far-famed control of lightning by his invention of the lightning-rod. A minute lightning flash, rod and hand (but not the cloud) appear after each word of the Latin legend.

Of the same period are quaint French porcelain statuettes, two of Washington and one of Lafayette. Possibly they were designed for candlesticks, as the tops of the heads are pierced with holes of a size which would permit the insertion of the slender candle of the period. Beyond their rich coloring they have but little artistic value; their modeling is rather crude. As reminders of the atmosphere of Paris during the late eighteenth century, however, they are of more than passing interest, for in the largest of the figures of Washington the sculptor has molded his subject with one foot planted upon a prostrate British lion and the other upon a British

flag. On the base of the smaller statuette stands an American eagle in an attitude of readiness to strike at the royal Arms of England which he had just cleft in twain. The Lafayette is of a similar model, the light blue of France having replaced the buff and blue of the Continental uniform in the statuettes of Washington.

Wedgwood did not confine his portraiture to bas-relief, but has given us a series of large busts in black basalt, the highly polished surfaces of many of which are suggestive of the finest bronzes. Possibly the finest of these and to Americans the most interesting is the one which portrays the scholarly features of John Locke (Fig. 6), whose writings must ever be associated with the development of constitutional government, and extracts from which were frequently quoted by Otis and other patriot orators in their efforts to combat the ever-increasing attempts of George III to interfere with the right of self-government in the Colonies. Locke was long interested in our colonial development. He was the author of the constitution of South Carolina (1669), of which colony he was created a Landgrave in the following year, and in 1696 was appointed one of the newly formed "Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," whose function it was "to inquire into the means of making the colonies most useful and beneficial to England; into the staples and manufactures which may be encouraged there and the means of diverting them from trades which may prove prejudicial to England; to examine into and weigh the acts of the Assemblies; to set down the usefulness or mischief of them to the Crown, the Kingdom, or the plantations themselves; to require an account of all the moneys given for public uses by the assemblies of the plantations, and how the same are employed."

Among the smaller busts are those of Rousseau and Voltaire (Figs. 7, 8). It is impossible for America to forget the debt it owes to Rousseau. His preaching that "the sovereignty of the people is older than the institutions which restrain; and that these institutions are not obligatory, but by consent" quickly spread throughout the thought of the civilized world. The story of the modeling of the full-length statuette of Rousseau (Fig. 9) evidences the personal supervision given by Wedgwood in his effort to obtain character—the predominant feature of Wedgwood's portraiture—as well as his mental attitude toward the great question of democracy in which he was so interested.



Fig. 10. ADMIRAL HOOD.
Basalt.
Height, 12½ inches.



Fig. 13. ADMIRAL RODNEY.
Chelsea Derby.
Height, 10½ inches.



Fig. 11. ADMIRAL RODNEY
Basalt.
Height, 11¾ inches.



Fig. 12. ADMIRAL RODNEY.
Chelsea Derby.
Height, 10¾ inches.



In a long letter to Bentley under date of July 28th, 1778, he tells of the loan of a whole-length drawing of Rousseau "venant d'herboriser dans les Jardins d'Ermenonville au mois Juin 1778," which he expressed the intention of using for a model of a statuette. Then followed his description. "He is drawn with a walking stick in his left hand and his hat under his arm. The other hand extended a little forward and contains a nosegay, or plants. I am in doubt whether to follow the drawing in that respect, as our statue, if it gives him any character at all, should bestow that upon him for which he is the most famous & that I apprehend is not the botanist."

A glance at the statuette as modeled under Wedgwood's supervision shows us that all suggestions of a botanist have been eliminated and in their stead the dominating note is the substitution in the right hand of a book, the thickness of which is symbolical of the extent and world-wide influence of Rousseau's writings.

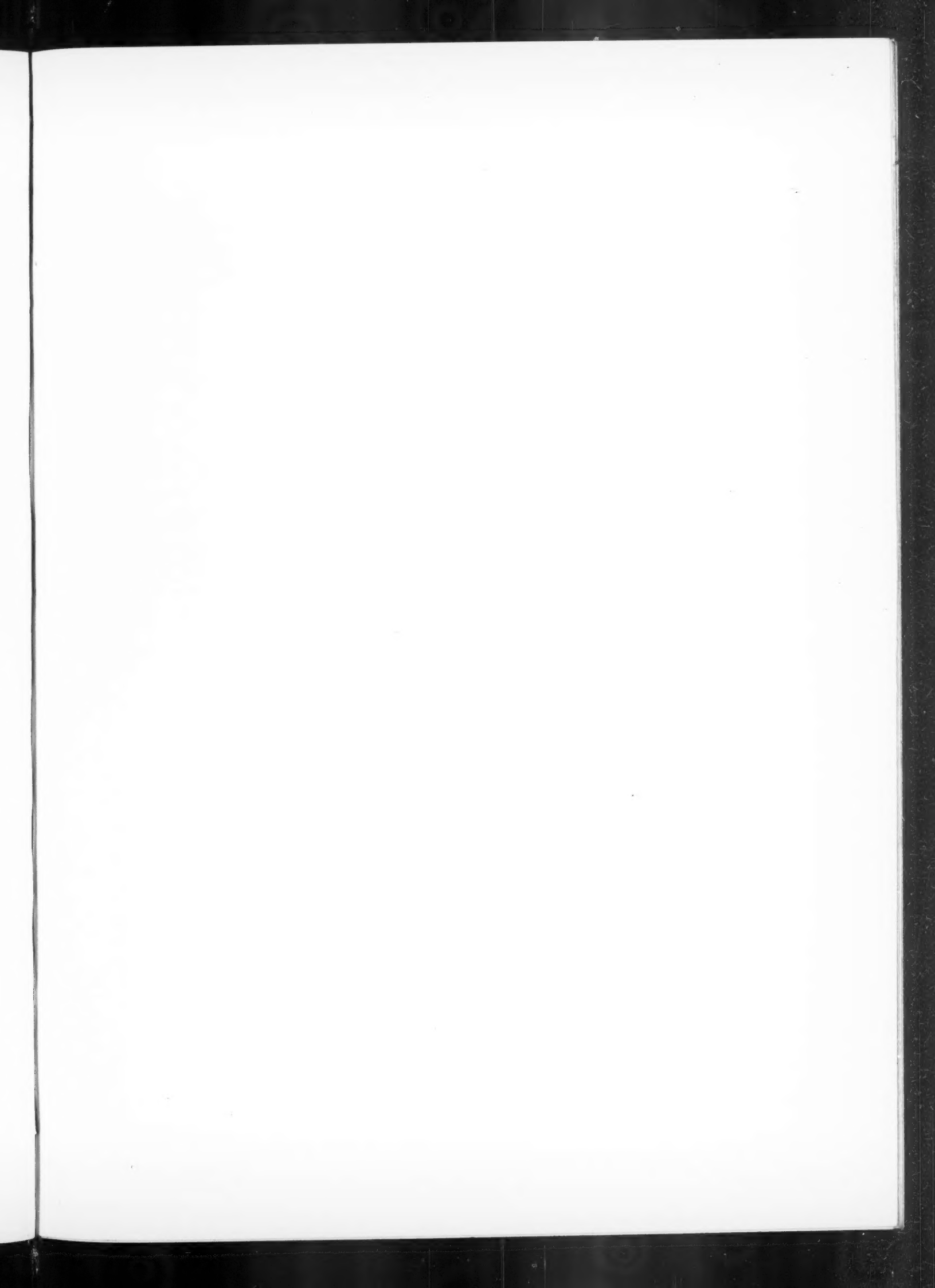
More elaborate still in modeling are the magnificent basalt statuettes of England's glorious admirals, Hood and Rodney (Figs. 10, 11). The story of Hood's association with America and its affairs would fill many pages. He was appointed in command of the American station in 1767 and arrived in Boston on the *Romney* just in time to participate in the excitement caused by the seizure of John Hancock's ship, the *Liberty*. His understanding of the political situation in the Colonies and his apprehension of the result of recent legislative acts of Parliament is aptly expressed in a letter to the Ministry dated November 22nd, 1768.

".....At present things here are very quiet and I flatter myself will remain so till the resolutions of Parliament are known, what turn they will then take is uncertain. The spirit of opposition to the Acts of Parliament of Great Britain, is as high as ever, and general throughout the Colonies; it therefore seems very prudent and necessary to be as strong in all Parts, and in all respects as possible; and there is no saying now how far the Rippon may be eventually serviceable in the spring. The present season is such as to render any movements at sea of the King's Ships very hazardous, and as the disturbances in Virginia and other Provinces to the Southward of this are as great as they well can be without actual Rebellion....."

Admiral Rodney's high place in the annals of the British navy is due to his magnificent victories over the French in the West

Indies—victories so sweeping that they vindicated England's claim to the superiority of the sea and reconciled the Ministry to the idea of peace, a peace for which all England was clamoring. The memory of his splendid record, however, is saddened by the recollection of his participation, when in command of the fleet at New York, in the working out of the details for the carrying out of the plot, the discovery of which cost Major André his life and saved West Point from betrayal and capture. The portraits and poses of both Admirals are spirited and valiant. The anchors, seaweed and shells on the pedestals are fitting accompaniments to the ships' guns, spy-glasses and speaking trumpets and remind us of the romantic days of the old navies when naval combats were directed from the quarter-deck and fought at close range.

English authorities on ceramics are at a loss to attribute the makership of this almost unique pair of basalt portrait statuettes. The basalt does not seem to be Wedgwood. Their modeler Stephan, whose name is firmly incised on each base, worked for Wedgwood at various times and for other potters. Two other portraits of Rodney modeled by Stephan exist (Figs. 12, 13), both products of the Chelsea factory, one in *terre cuite* and the other in unbaked biscuit coated with a greenish glaze in an attempt to imitate the coloring of the wares of the Ming dynasty. The modeling in both is exquisite and may be said to represent the highest art of the Chelsea factory.





FRANS HALS : PORTRAIT OF A MAN
COLLECTION OF MR. HENRY GOLDMAN, NEW YORK

